

2 NEWS

Mandela graces a homage to colonialism

Foreigners star in two main events in the republic's calendar, Bastille Day celebrations and a bicycle race which ends in the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe

Monday sketch



Paul Webster

WATCHING Nelson Mandela smiling to himself during the elite of the French army on the Champs Elysées yesterday, it seemed that France had invited the perfect embodiment of those key republican values — liberty, equality and fraternity. The South African president would probably be too polite to say what he really thought as he stood to attention, smiling to himself during the annual Bastille Day parade of toy soldiers that paid homage to years of colonialism far removed from the ideals of 1789. But he must have shared the average outsider's equivocal reaction to this brilliantly staged celebration of national self-assurance on an avenue that has become the

world's biggest public forum. The blue painted lines guiding the Foreign Legion and other Empire-building regiments over the cobblestones will hardly be rubbed out by today's rush hour traffic before another half million spectators will be getting ready to watch the last lap of the Tour de France cycle race under the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe.

This year, the two biggest events in the republican calendar clearly have something in common. July 14 may be about pride in being French, but foreigners were the stars. After Mr. Mandela goes home and the RAF planes that took part in yesterday's show return to their British and German bases, France's best known sporting occasion will end with a victor from Denmark, Russia or Switzerland with Frenchmen trailing a long way behind.

Like England and its soccer, France has long ago had to come to terms with foreigners dominating its favourite sport, but this seems to take nothing away from the universal self-confidence in French values.

Deep down, a Frenchman is convinced that all the world serves his way of life and that has contributed to the ease with which France has embraced Europeanism.



All the president's men... Nelson Mandela inspects guard of honour after arriving at Orly airport

The Bastille Day march part is part of a process of drawing the best from history's profit and loss column, especially as it recalls more military defeats by other European powers than successes. Two years ago, German tanks and armoured cars mo-

tered down the avenue for the first time since the war. Yesterday, RAF Tornados, led by Wing Commander Graham Bowerman, thundered across Paris on their own bridge-making mission. Even without the welcome for old enemies, make peace,

not war, was the unheralded theme. The Foreign Legion and Marine regiments that cut out a colonial empire by violence, wore uniforms flowing with medals from peace-keeping missions in Lebanon and Bosnia. Jacques Chirac's decision to end conscription,

pull back France's troops from Germany and disband at least 40 regiments meant that much of the military might on view was heading for the breaker's yard. The days of the second Grande Armée were numbered and the prospect of

losses on the scale of Napoleon's flight from Russia was celebrated prematurely by the 4,000 people, mostly young provincials, invited to another ritual, the Elysée garden party, and the open air presidential press conference.

Under Francois Mitterrand, the president's garden used to be the venue for Le Tout Paris where personalities fought, begged and bribed for their invitations. Under the rule of Jacques Chirac, master of the handshake and backslap, it was a more proletarian hunt-fight in the tradition of a mass popular fête that began on Friday night and ended in the early hours of this Monday morning.

While television cameras concentrated on the sprinkling of innovations in the Bastille parade, including the Paris police and women ambulance crews, much of the country was still sleeping off the effects of a night of dancing, drinking and fireworks. Around midday, they were getting ready for another session last night that included Paris's splurge of millions of francs on a celestial display around the Eiffel Tower.

I spent Saturday at Marly le Roi yesterday reflecting on Louis XVI's Bastille Day diary entry which reads, "Rien," written after returning to his hunting lodge after a hard day

in the Marly forest on July 14 1789.

These days he would have to write "Benurcup" as there is hardly a village among France's 36,000 communes that does not pay out a large proportion of its annual municipal budget on celebrations amounting to the most important family outing of the year and a mating ritual at which an estimated quarter of the population meets their future spouses. Not to be outdone by Paris's Europeanism, Marly invited a German band to lead its parade and played out its fireworks to the music of Bach and Handel.

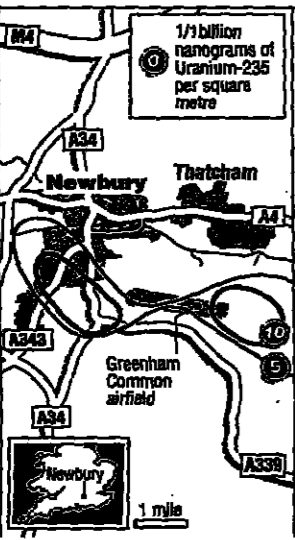
Later, in a family gathering that outdid Christmas, more men were seen dancing with their wives than in the history of Chicago, while the band played Viva España.

These bals populaires — 98 in Paris alone — seem to wipe out sex, class, race and age divisions in the name of republicanism, with one exception. Royalists treat July 14 as a day of mourning and I thought of a friend with an aristocratic name bewailing the fact that he was generally excluded from mass rejoicing at the Bourdon downhill.

He had been traumatised since childhood after his noble father slapped his face for whistling La Marseillaise on Bastille Day.

Hidden Greenham Common accident fuels calls for inquiry into local leukaemia cases

Nuclear air crash inquiry sought



John Mullin

MICHAEL Portillo, the Defence Secretary, is under pressure to announce an investigation into a leukaemia cluster around Greenham Common, amid allegations that a nuclear accident 38 years ago may be to blame. A classified report, leaked after 35 years, indicates that high levels of radioactivity around the American air base in Berkshire was caused when an airborne B-47 bomber suffered engine trouble and jettisoned its wing-tip fuel tanks.

The tanks were supposed to land in an emergency drop zone within the airfield. Instead, one fell behind a parked B-47 carrying a nuclear weapon, which was engulfed in flames, releasing uranium and plutonium dust.

The report, passed to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, was never disclosed to the Government's Committee on Medical Radiation in the Environment (Comre). It was asked, seven years ago, to look at cancer clusters around the American Aldermaston nuclear research plant.

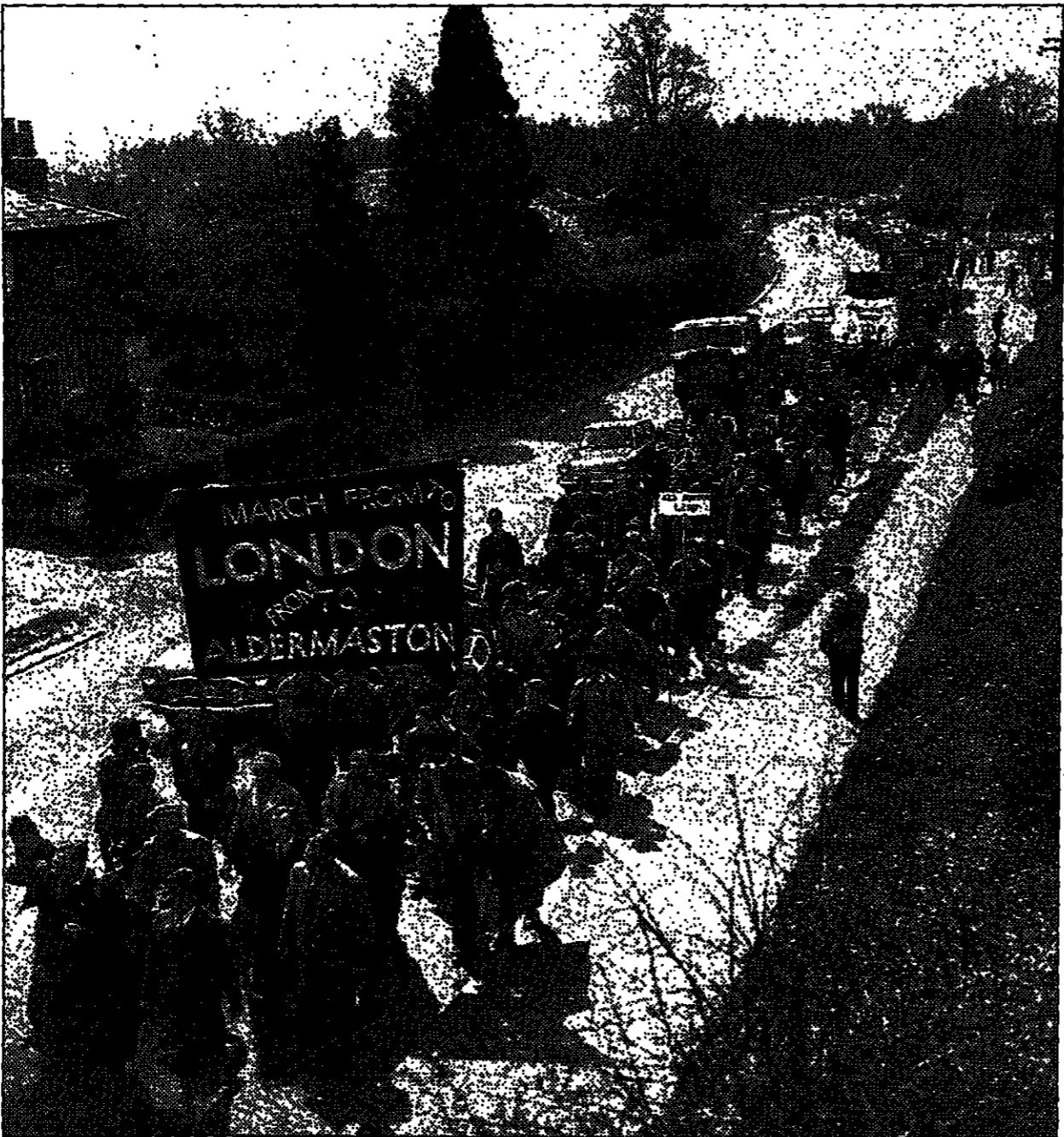
Comre concluded that there was a "small but statistically significant" increase in cancer incidence in young children in the area, home to more than 100,000 people. But it was unable to find any link with Aldermaston.

David Rendall, the Liberal Democrat MP for Newbury, said the conclusions might have been different had the secret report been available. He backed CND calls for a fresh government inquiry.

The 1991 report, commissioned for the Macmillan government, investigated concentrations of uranium 100 times higher than could be accounted for by discharges from Aldermaston. Its authors looked instead at whether a nuclear accident at Greenham, closer to the high readings, was the reason for them. There were high concentrations of uranium in an hour-glass shape, with the air base at the centre.

Bruce Kent, the vice-president of CND, which investigated the incident for a year, said yesterday: "It is wicked that people should have been deceived for so long." He called for the base, now an industrial estate, to be evacuated.

The Ministry of Defence insisted that no nuclear weapon had been involved in the accident. But people in Newbury called for the report to be made public.



CND marchers trek to London from Aldermaston unaware of the air crash at Greenham Common two years earlier



'There are very grave implications not only for public health but also for democracy. It is wicked that people should have been deceived for so long'

Bruce Kent
CND vice-president

It emerged yesterday that there have been at least eight cases of leukaemia along a one-mile stretch of road close to the base in the last five years. Elizabeth Capewell, aged 49, whose daughter Ann, aged 16, died three years ago, believes there may be more. Mrs Capewell said she had been puzzled about the incidence of leukaemia, which on average strikes one in 150,000 people. "It is important any investigation takes account of people who work but do not live here, and those who have moved away."

Yesterday Mrs Capewell learned of at least one new victim. Her daughter Ann's friend, Alice Bowrage, now aged 17, survived after four rounds of chemotherapy treatment. She will celebrate her second year in remission in September. Her father, Roderick Bowrage, aged 49, said: "What we do want are the facts, and what the radiation levels are and will be in the future."

Researchers' best efforts fail to link cancer clusters to radiation

Chris Millill
Medical Correspondent

SUSPICION about cancer clusters continues to haunt the public. But despite repeated studies in Britain and abroad, no link with radiation has been proved.

The most notorious and best studied case is the leukaemia cluster in young children in the Seascale area around the Sellafield nuclear plant in Cumbria.

No one disputes that the cluster exists, but numerous studies have concluded that it cannot be linked to radiation. The Government's advisory Committee on Medical Aspects of Radiation in the Environment published another report on the case in March this year which said discharges from the plant could not account for the cases, nor could the idea that fathers working at Sellafield had been irradiated and defects caused to their sperm passed to their children.

Many researchers think clusters are due to chance, or to an unidentified virus brought in by newcomers. Other cancer clusters have

been found around nuclear plants at Dounreay in Scotland, and Hinkley Point in Somerset, as well as around the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston, Berkshire, and the neighbouring atomic weapons factory at Burghfield.

However, clusters have also been found around oil rig construction sites, at non-nuclear power plants, in new towns around London and in Scotland, and even at spots where nuclear plants were planned but never built.

Even in areas with direct exposure to radiation or radioactive materials, the link with cancer in children has proved difficult to verify. Although there has been a rise in thyroid cancer in children affected by the 1986 Chernobyl explosion in the Ukraine, there has as yet been no reported rise in leukaemia.

Recently, concern about cancer clusters has focused on the Cornish village of Camelford, hit by a water pollution disaster eight years ago. Around 1,300 children a year develop leukaemia in the UK. The highest number of cases are in Cumbria and Cornwall.

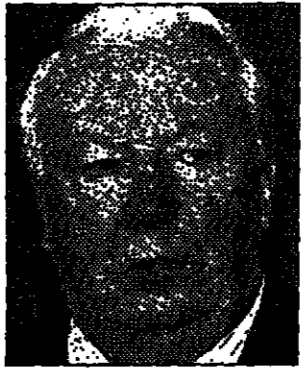
Review

Edward Greenfield
Ted Heath at 80
Salisbury Cathedral

IT MUST be many years since Salisbury Cathedral was quite so full — its transepts crammed as well as the great nave — as it was for the 80th birthday celebration of Sir Edward Heath.

This was the musical climax of Sir Edward's birthday week, a concert in this national monument conducted by a man who, himself — in the words of the dean, the Very Rev Hugh Dickinson — is now a national monument. The climax came in the final item, one of Heath's favourite works, the Bruckner Te Deum, massive in the scale of forces used and taut in its half-hour structure.

Overwhelming sounds from the Philharmonia chorus and English Chamber Orchestra rang round the great cathedral, all unleashed by a mere flick of the baton from this almost motionless figure in white dinner jacket. As a conductor, Heath plainly enjoys himself, but is anything but



Ted Heath: flick of baton released cathedral crescendo

demonstrative, obviously having learned much more from his friend, Herbert von Karajan than from another conductor friend, Leonard Bernstein.

Not that Heath makes things easy for himself. Quite apart from the problems of conducting the Bruckner with its sequence of sudden, surprising contrasts, his choice of soloist for Chopin's Second Piano Concerto itself presented problems, the unpredictable, ever-charismatic Ivo Pogorelich.

The last time I heard Heath conduct his soloist was the great Russian cellist, Mstislav

Rostropovic, and here again he and the players were well-prepared for any emergency. What stood out above all was the exuberance of the finale, with the pianist at his most incisive, buoyantly springing rhythms, clarifying detail in the echoing acoustic far more than seemed possible.

The opening work was another of Ted Heath's favourites, Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, and it was refreshing for once to have a conductor noting the marking Allegro moderato in the score refusing to let the music dawdle, holding the formal structure together.

Interrupting the standing ovation which greeted the octagenarian conductor at the end of the concert, came a final impromptu item conducted by the chorus-master, Peter Burlan — an elaborate arrangement of Happy Birthday to You, so devised that we could all join in at the climax.

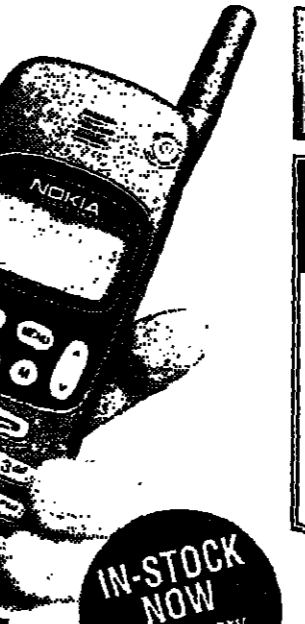
Not that the concert was Ted Heath's only duty of the day. At his house in the Close, in the shadow of the cathedral, he entertained more than 100 guests before and after. Over the next week or so, there is a whole string of birthday celebrations still to come. Such is a Westminster training.

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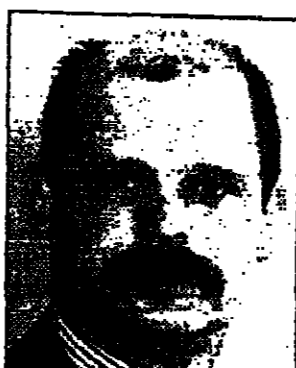
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"I now feel betrayed - betrayed by the British Government."

Cardinal Cahal Daly, Roman Catholic Primate of All Ireland



"I think we have the potential to go to hell and back."

David Ervine, Progressive Unionist Party leader



"Put into practice in a serious way what you've committed yourself to."

Advice to John Major from John Hume, leader of the SDLP

Hotel bomb galvanises peacemakers

Ruaradh Nicoll

AFTER lobbying insults across the Irish sea on Friday, the British and Irish governments pulled together quickly following yesterday's blast at Enniskillen — both calling for the resumption of talks this week.

"We've got to have the talks," said Dick Spring, the Irish deputy premier. "I would be confident we can start the process during the coming week."

approach taken by the police to the parades. You can't afford to have the peace process on an à la carte basis." Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Northern Ireland Secretary, called his remarks "offensive".

The calls for calm were not restricted to the two governments. "Sinn Féin still has a peace strategy and that strategy is still centred around the reality of what is required — peace negotiations without pre-conditions," said Sinn Féin spokesman, Martin McGuinness.

the bombing, it was the stand-off between the RUC and the Orangemen — and the violence surrounding it — that had brought the situation to the brink of doom.

Mr Spring had harsh words for Unionist leaders: "When you see Mr Paisley and others saying that they are winners this week that makes me very fearful because, if we're going to sort out the problem in Northern Ireland, there can be no winners and no losers."



A petrol bomber launches another missile at an RUC station in Londonderry last night as the spiral of violence continues. PHOTOGRAPH: STEPHEN DAVISON

Suspicious fall on shadowy dissidents

Splinter group developed military expertise through recruiting disaffected republicans

David Sharrock, Ireland Correspondent

THE Provisional IRA's denial that it was behind yesterday's bomb attack on the exceptionally soft target of an hotel in the mixed town of Enniskillen yesterday raised the merest glimmer of hope that Northern Ireland may yet avoid a return to sectarian conflict.

Hitting an hotel full of holidaymakers and a wedding party is a trip back to the worst excesses of the Troubles, with not even a grain of "legitimate target" propaganda to explain it away.

the civil rights chaos of 1968 and the parallels between now and then are not lost on anybody.

group originally used the name Arm na Phoblachta — Army of the People — before adopting the name "Continuity Army Council of the IRA".

back to the early 1970s, were planted in Newry and Enniskillen. The group is also believed to have carried out "fund-raising" robberies in the Irish republic and has been actively seeking weapons.

Guests tell of wedding that nearly became a wake

The last dance almost became just that, writes David Sharrock in Enniskillen

THE bride and groom were taking to the ballroom floor for the last dance when the wailing call came through to the front desk at 11.40pm. Martina McMannus and Thaddeus Turbett, who had earlier exchanged their vows, left their guests out of the Killyhevin Hotel, still dressed in white wedding gown and tails.

"At first we didn't take it seriously," Mr McGovern said. "We went over to the jeep. I looked into the back and just saw pieces of wood, and then I went round to the other side and put my head in through the open window, when I heard tick-tock sounds. I shouted to the others, 'It's a bomb!'"

parade through the nationalist village of Roslea, in Co Fermanagh recently.

"I heard tick-tock sounds. I shouted to the others: it's a bomb"

A second call had been taken by a priest in Enniskillen, according to local reports. Whoever made the call claimed they were from the IRA.

The doorman, Willie Stinson, said: "We had all the guests out when somebody said there were people still inside. I went back in with a policeman and we found a woman and child. Within two minutes of getting everybody out there was a loud explosion."

There's no point asking why Enniskillen. Why anywhere?"

Blast pushes loyalists back on the road to war

continued from page 1

responsible the indications are that preparations for the attack began some time ago.

With Dublin pressing for an Anglo-Irish summit there were signs last night that the bombing has, if anything, concentrated both governments' minds and reinforced the need for rapprochement.

The core of the matter may be ball-tampering — picking the seam and gouging the ball for a swing bowler to gain advantage — but this case promises much more than testimony on such arcane aerodynamic mysteries covered by Law 42 of cricket.

Sport page 13

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4 BRITAIN

Poll hope for Harman as Lestor quits

Michael White and Rebecca Smithers

THE veteran leftwing MP Joan Lestor is expected to announce today that she will not be standing in next week's shadow cabinet elections. ... Meanwhile, other senior Labour MPs were carrying out last-minute manoeuvres to secure their future in the last such poll before the general election.

ancy, as well as Tony Blair, of her intention to end her 30-year frontbench career. MPs this weekend were scrutinising the timetable proposed by Parliamentary Labour Party officers.

There is speculation that Labour MPs infuriated by Ms Harman's decision to send her son to a selective grammar school could oust her from the shadow cabinet.

Party sources dismissed as "utter fabrication" a Sunday newspaper report suggesting that Ms Harman is to send her nine-year-old daughter to the exclusive Greycoats School in Tory-controlled Westminster.

The shadow home secretary, Jack Straw, brushed aside suggestions that he might have trouble retaining his position. She said on BBC's Breakfast With Frost: "I am looking forward to being re-elected. These stories appear every year. They are the normal fluff of pre-election speculation."

Asked if he would urge colleagues to vote for Ms Harman, he said: "That's a matter for them, but I have always voted myself for Harriet - I think she's very effective as a shadow health secretary - and I shall be doing so again."

Another report suggested that the shadow foreign secretary, Robin Cook, faces demotion to a minor spending department in Mr Blair's first cabinet. This was "malicious invention" said Blair aides.

Yesterday health spokesman Henry McLeish confirmed that he and two other prominent frontbenchers - and fellow Scots - will not be standing in the shadow cabinet poll. He, Brian Wilson - who runs Labour's "rebuilt unit" - and City spokesman Alastair Darling were all unsuccessful last year.

Others such as foreign affairs spokesman Tony Lloyd and Derek Fatchett are also expected not to run.



Joan Lestor: leaving shadow post on health grounds



Martin Baker, a friend of Megan and Josephine Russell, attends the service with his mother Liz and the Rev Pat Goodsell

Village grieves over killings

Helen Nowicka

A COMMUNITY was brought together in grief yesterday as prayers were offered for Lin and Megan Russell at their church. Members of the congregation placed flowers on the altar at Holy Cross church, Goodnestone, Kent, during the service in which the Reverend Pat Goodsell described the murder of the mother and daughter as evil.

Mrs Russell, aged 45, and Megan, six, were bludgeoned to death on Tuesday afternoon in woods near Cantham in Nonington, near Canterbury. Mrs Russell's daughter, Josephine, nine, suffered head injuries and was left for dead. Doctors say she will be brain-damaged.

In his sermon, Mr Goodsell spoke of the disbelief that such a crime had taken place in the area. "There is anger; there is sadness; there is hurt and pain. There is sheer incomprehension that anyone could be so cruel, so evil, as to do such a thing."

Jo Passmore, chairwoman of the parish council, said: "There is an awful feeling in the village. We are a close community who stand in the middle of the road and talk to each other. Now we are all afraid."

Princess cries in dark as menacing paparazzi close in

Hounded by tabloid press, Diana pleads for understanding, Stuart Millar reports



Stuart Millar

IT WAS a bumper weekend for the Princess of Wales's mascara suppliers. Pursued by menacing packs of paparazzi, a distressed Diana yesterday appealed for understanding from the media after sobbing, weeping and crying her way around London.

Friends of the princess, whose divorce from Prince Charles could be finalised within six weeks, insist she is merely relieved that this stage of her life is over. But according to tabloid reports, the princess was reduced to tears on several occasions this weekend as she struggled to come to terms with the prospect of surviving on her £15 million divorce settlement.

The "sobathon" began on Friday afternoon, just after Buckingham Palace announced terms of the settlement.

The princess, visiting her close friend Lucia Fiecha de Lima in her London hotel suite, "could be heard clearly weeping out loud", the News of the World reported. By Saturday morning, members of the public pressed her distress for themselves as the princess sobbed while running in Kensington Gardens. The News of the World even had her panicking to "wail out uncontrollably: 'Why?'"

The fact that the Princess of Wales was persistently followed by seven press motorbikes and two press motor cars this morning is the reason for the distressing photographs which are now being published'



Kensington Palace

Richmond, the make-up slipped once again. Harassed by two photographers on motorbikes, she broke down in tears.

The incident prompted her office to issue a statement yesterday, calling for understanding for her and her sons. It said: "The fact that the Princess of Wales was persistently followed by seven press motorbikes and two press motor cars this morning is the reason for the distressing photographs which are now being published."

But the princess appears to be no stranger to eccentric behaviour. According to the News of the World, she can be found in Hyde Park every night, weeping into her mobile phone.

D's revenge, Media Guardian, G2 page 8

Labour plans 'hit squad' to root out tax avoidance

Rebecca Smithers Political Correspondent

LABOUR has drawn up plans to create a "tax avoidance" hit squad to target big companies which avoid billions in tax every year via legal loopholes. The team of up to 25 highly-paid civil servants would be a dedicated unit within the Treasury, and a Labour administration would hope to recruit many of them from accountancy firms where they work against, rather than for, the Government.

Inland Revenue is cut the number of staff employed to "detect and tackle non-compliance" from 7,800 budgeted in 1995/96, to 7,300 in 97/98.

In a separate crackdown on housing benefit fraud, Chris Smith, shadow social security secretary, will today publish findings showing that the Government's plans to introduce compulsory competitive tendering into local authority housing benefit fraud investigation will increase fraud.

But Labour's "elder stateswoman" and former minister Baroness Castle will tomorrow launch a fresh backlash on new Labour with the publication of a pamphlet strongly critical of the party's pensions policy - drawn up by Mr Smith.

Ratings war 'mars TV quality'

A SENIOR Tory MP yesterday accused television broadcasters of encouraging a disregard for decent standards by their constant battle to increase ratings, writes Stuart Millar. Sir Patrick Cormack, MP for Staffordshire South, singled out the hit BBC comedy Men Behaving Badly. "Almost every week I get repeated complaints about the programme which holds up loutish behaviour almost as something to be merited," he said.

risk and other backbench MPs launched a crusade to reduce violence and unsocial behaviour on television. They have tabled a Commons motion calling on BBC government, the Independent Television Commission, the Broadcasting Standards Council and programme producers to take urgent steps to cut down on screen violence. Sir Patrick said: "The decline in standards and respect for others' well-being has been to a large degree created by the irresponsible search for viewing figures."

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News in brief

Studies disagree on carers' sacrifices

TWO surveys of the sacrifice of carers show glaring disparities. Days after Stephen Dorrell, the Health Secretary, warned that family, friends and volunteers would have to bear much of the burden of looking after the growing numbers of elderly people. One survey, published today, suggests two in three carers spend more than 100 hours a week looking after a relative or friend, and that those in work lose an average £5,625 a year in earnings because of their caring commitments. But a government study says eight in 10 carers spend less than 35 hours a week looking after an elderly, sick or disabled adult or child. Today's survey is by Caring Costs, a consortium of 44 voluntary groups, and is based on a sample of 1,042 carers who completed a questionnaire distributed by the groups. Caring Costs says more carers will fall into poverty in later life as people are expected to rely increasingly on pensions available only to those in paid work. — *David Brindle*

Blow to evidence immunity

THE Court of Appeal has dealt a blow to the right of police and prosecution to invoke public interest immunity to conceal key evidence from defence lawyers. Lord Justice Leggatt, Mr Justice Roulger and Mr Justice Hooper ruled that a judge in a drugs trial should have ordered two men, said by the defendant to be an undercover officer and an informer, to be called as prosecution witnesses. The ruling, described by criminal lawyers as "a major decision", was delivered last Friday, but received no publicity. The defendant, Kudret Yirtici, was convicted at Snaresbrook crown court a year ago of possessing heroin with intent to supply and jailed for 14 years. His defence was that he thought he was helping the South East Regional Crime Squad to catch drug dealers when he handed over three grams of heroin to police posing as dealers. He claimed the two men — a police officer and an informer — were present and could back up his story. The Appeal Court judges ordered a retrial. — *Clare Dyer*

Appeal over Jade killing

A MOBILE police station was set up yesterday close to the railway line where Jade Matthews, aged nine, was found battered to death eight days ago. Detectives were hoping to jog the memory of anyone who was in that area of Boodle, Merseyside, at the time. Jade, of Boodle, was killed after disappearing from outside her home while she was playing with friends at tea-time last Sunday. Police have three sightings of her making her way just over a mile to the murder scene with a boy aged about 13 on a mountain bike.

Call for swift action

CONSERVATIONISTS have launched a campaign to save swifts, the insect-eating birds which visit Europe in summer, which they fear are endangered by modern building methods. Modern architecture makes it harder for swifts to enter the roof spaces of buildings to nest. The campaign, backed by the British Trust for Ornithology and Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, is focused on making buildings "swift-friendly".

Aids fear after syringe attack

POLICE in Edinburgh are hunting a man who stabbed a teenager in the face with a blood-filled syringe after telling her he suffered from Aids. The attack took place after an argument broke out between the 15-year-old girl, who was with a friend, and the man in Hunter Square, off the Royal Mile, on Friday. Police are looking for a well-built man aged 25 to 30, with a Mohican haircut. — *Stuart Miller*

Twelve share £21.9m jackpot

TWELVE winners shared Saturday's £21.9 million National Lottery rollover jackpot. Each receives £1.8 million while 41 others, who matched five numbers plus the bonus ball, won £80,000. Winning numbers were 11, 5, 42, 41, 10 and 12; the bonus 2.

Priest defiant over sign of offence

Madeleine Bunting on priestess row

THE Church of England is considering taking legal action against a recalcitrant opponent of women priests in Hull who refuses to take down a church sign which says "This Anglican parish has no part in the apostasy of priestesses." Two Hull councillors have called on the Archbishop of York to intervene, saying that residents have complained that the notice is offensive to women. The sign, which overlooks a busy junction in the centre of the town, has been repeatedly vandalised since it was erected three years ago.

Francis Bown, 48, priest for St Stephen's congregation of a dozen, is adamant the sign will remain. "We're up against women priest supporters, militant feminists and politically correct councillors," he said.

The fracas comes as the General Synod gathered in York for its biannual meeting. A private member's motion calling for women bishops narrowly missed being tabled at synod.

"The board has caused a great deal of offence to women priests. Lies about priestesses are more than they can take," said the Archdeacon of East Riding, the Venerable Hugh Buckingham.

But the Archdeacon's requests to Fr Bown to take the sign down have met with no success. The next stage will be to take the matter to the diocesan chancellor who handles such matters of ecclesiastical law.

A top adviser of the Archbishop of Canterbury has described the royal divorce and the Prince of Wales's infidelity as an embarrassment to the Church of England.

Elaine Storkey, theological adviser to George Carey and a member of the General Synod, said on GMTV's Sunday programme that there would be "clearly something very wrong" in having as head of the Church a divorced monarch who had been having a relationship outside of his marriage for some years.



Fr Bown: 'Up against feminists and politically correct councillors' PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID BARR

Teacher colleges 'facing witch-hunt'

Donald MacLeod Education Correspondent

INSPECTION of teacher training colleges is becoming a witch-hunt, the head of a leading training institution said yesterday.

Peter Mortimore, head of London University's Institute of Education, said it had been working with the Govern-

ment to achieve high standards, "but there is a danger of focusing always on negatives and not on positives." "I would have thought a good result for the institute, along with a number of other training institutions, is a cause for celebration, not for a witch-hunt."

The Office for Standards in Education, which has just completed a £1 million pro-

gramme of inspecting primary teacher training in which only five institutions out of 67 were found to be unsatisfactory, is preparing to reinspect a cross-section of colleges, looking more closely at training in basic reading and number work.

Mr Mortimore, whose institute has just been inspected, said he would take legal advice about refusing to co-oper-

ate with Ofsted if it decided to reinspect.

An Ofsted spokesman said the institute's reaction was premature, since it had not been decided which colleges would be revisited, and the second inspections would be of a different nature to the first.

In evidence to the Commons select committee on education, the Secondary

Heads' Association called for a general teaching council to regulate the profession in England and Wales — as in Scotland.

John Sutton, the association's general secretary, said there was "no prospect of long-term success for our education system unless we can restore the profession to its proper place in public esteem."

Carey's plea for welfare to refugees

Alan Travis Home Affairs Editor

THE Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, today launched a last minute appeal by church leaders to the Government not to strike out a key concession to asylum seekers to claim welfare benefits while their refugee applications are considered.

The intervention by the leaders of the Church of England, the Roman Catholics and the Methodists comes as the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, and the Social Security Secretary, Peter Lilley, try to overturn the successful Lords amendment to the Asylum and Immigration Bill a fortnight ago. Today's Commons debate will be their last chance before the legislation reaches the statute book.

Two Conservative MPs have already warned ministers they may not support the Government tonight. The successful Labour amendment in the House of Lords gives asylum seekers three days to make a claim for refugee status after arriving in Britain without losing the right to claim welfare benefits.

Ministers want to ensure only asylum seekers who make a claim for refugee status on the day of their arrival in Britain can claim income support and other benefits while their application is processed as part of their attempt to save £200 million a year.

Dr Carey in a letter to today's Times says church leaders are "disturbed" at the Government's intended action and warns it will mean many genuine asylum seekers will suffer "unwarranted hardship" as a result of losing

benefits. The churches first privately warned Mr Lilley of their concerns in February when the withdrawal of benefits came into effect. Up to 13,000 have been affected so far. He was forced to introduce emergency legislation after the High Court ruled his action illegal.

Dr Carey, backed by the Roman Catholic prelate, Cardinal Basil Hume, and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, Kathleen Richardson, says people fleeing persecution cannot get a visa before they leave stating they are refugees and so have to make up a story. It may well take several days before they overcome their trauma and feel safe enough to identify themselves as asylum seekers.

Peter Bottomley, the Tory MP for Ebbw Vale and Sir Patrick Cormack, the Conservative MP for Staffordshire South, have both warned the Government they would be "deeply, deeply disturbed" if the Lords' concession is not kept intact. Labour's social security spokesman, Chris Smith, said the opposition would be strongly defending his party's amendment. The appeal from church leaders, coinciding with a letter to Mr Howard from former hostage John McCarthy, will be backed today by a lobby of Parliament supported by the trades unions and refugee welfare groups.

Mr Lilley has argued the Lords amendment must go because the cost in extra income support, housing benefit and other welfare payments could rise to more than £80 million a year if large numbers of economic migrants exploit the three-day rule.

A final brick to the wall, page 6

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Massacre revives anti-gun group

Dunblane gave new impetus to a failed crusade, writes Duncan Campbell

TWO-and-a-half years ago Gill Marshall-Andrews, increasingly bothered by what seemed to be a growing gun culture in Britain, started to do some research on firearms. She felt there was no organisation campaigning against guns in this country, and perhaps the only way to fill the gap was to start one herself.

What she discovered from Home Office statistics and her conversations with senior police officers was that there was indeed a growing problem; that guns were being used more in crimes and that, despite restrictions on their ownership, many highly unsuitable people were still able to acquire them.

Mrs Marshall-Andrews decided to start a group, Open Arms, which would provide information and research and act as a resource centre for people seeking to tighten the gun laws. But she could not recruit enough people and the planned launch never happened.

Then came Dunblane. Suddenly there was a new urgency to the campaign. People she had contacted before got back in touch, anxious to help.

"There was no organisation involved after Hungerford, and as a result the various changes proposed got watered down," she says. "People forgot."

Tomorrow's launch of the Gun Control Network at the House of Commons is aimed to ensure that people do not forget again. The other members of the group bring their individual experiences, through which they hope to convince public and politicians that action has to be taken.

Among the members are Tony and Judith Hill, parents of one of the Hungerford victims; Sandra Hill, Mick North, whose daughter, Sophie, was killed at Dunblane; and Ian Tay, professor of Sociology at Salford University. The group's greatest achievement, Mrs Marshall-Andrews says, would be to wind itself up after accomplishing its aims.

The first aim, now shared with the Police Federation and a growing number of politicians, is the banning of handguns.

"We would also like to ban the sale of guns by mail order," she says. "At the moment, you can order them from a gun magazine and they arrive by Data-post." The group would extend certification from shotguns to airguns, and would ban the sale of replica and de-activated guns.

The mood for change is very strong, she believes, with 750,000 signing the Snowdrop Petition after Dunblane calling for a handgun ban.

Mrs Marshall-Andrews, a former probation officer and teacher, said: "We are not seeking a total ban. We believe what we are seeking is reasonable and achievable."

• Jack Straw, Labour's home affairs spokesman, has reaffirmed his party's plans to step up controls on firearms, but has said he does not want to put a figure on the number of guns that would be taken out of circulation.

Not even Keanu Reeves's best friends think his rock group, Dogstar, is much good, but that hasn't hindered it.

Adam Sweeting.

G2 profile

page 10

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6 WORLD NEWS

Right wing puts pressure on Israel's coalition

Derak Brown in Jerusalem

THE Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu returned home last night from a United States tour to face new challenges from his own right wing.

In Jerusalem, ultra-Orthodox Jews are threatening to withdraw support from his government unless they get their way on sabbath observance.

Other rightwingers are calling for an expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

For Mr Netanyahu, who has declined to pin himself down on policies since he took office last month, both issues are potentially explosive. His coalition is heavily dependent on ultra-Orthodox factions, and several of his ministers believe as a means of maintaining Israel's grip on the occupied territories.

But support for either cause will exacerbate rifts in Israeli society. Many secular Israelis bitterly resent the rising influence of the religious minority, while liberals are against the notion of further colonisation of the occupied lands.

Mr Netanyahu's homecoming is a return to harsh reality for a prime minister with a slender majority and a host of pressing decisions to make. His policies could be badly diverted by the latest eruption of religious-secular rivalry in Jerusalem, where the rapidly growing ultra-Orthodox minority — now almost a quarter of the population — has demanded to close a main road during the Jewish sabbath.

Bar-Ilan Road and its extension, Yirmehayu, cut through

districts where the ultra-Orthodox are now in a majority, and has been the frequent setting for confrontations between secular drivers and stone-throwing locals.

While the prime minister was in the US, the transport minister, Yitzhak Levy — an Orthodox Jew — ordered the closure of both roads during sabbath worship.

On Friday, the High Court overturned the order and said the government should show within 15 days why the roads should not remain open.

But on Saturday night ugly clashes broke out when harassed Jews (the black-garbed ultra-Orthodox) turned out in their thousands to try to block the road. There was a confrontation with leftwing demonstrators and police.

The violence continued until midnight, as police used batons and water-cannon and batons. Two police officers were recognised and beaten up by the mob.

Yesterday a Knesset member, Avraham Ravitz, said that his party, United Torah Judaism, would vote against the government unless the Jerusalem police chief and other senior officers were dismissed.

They conducted a pogrom against Jews, he said. "They beat women, they beat children, they went into houses."

Haredi activists warned that next Saturday tens of thousands of religious protesters would converge on the disputed road.

Meanwhile leaders of the Jewish settlers are calling for new colonies and the rapid expansion of the 140 or more existing ones. Up to 140,000 Jews live among the two million or so Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza.

Bar-Ilan Road and its extension, Yirmehayu, cut through

Dole fights above his weight

As Bill Clinton prepares to bask in reflected Olympic glory, Martin Walker and Jonathan Freedland in Washington examine the faltering campaign of his Republican challenger

IF THIS were a boxing match, the referee would have stopped it by now. According to the latest opinion polls, Bill Clinton, winning everything but the prairie states and Alaska, will sweep back to the White House for a second term this November while the Democrats recapture the House and Senate.

The polls rounded off Bob Dole's week from hell, but with less than a month to go before the Republican Party's presidential nominating convention in San Diego, most of it was the challenger's own fault. Mr Dole offended his friends and insulted his allies, as if he had votes to spare.

He dug his hole deeper on each television appearance: a stubborn and grumpy old man whose wife plucked gently at his sleeve and tried to change the subject.

He told an anti-abortionist wing of his party that he would pick a pro-abortion vice-president if he wanted to. So there. Then he stunned the gun lobby by dropping his promise to overturn the Clinton ban on assault rifles. So much for his friends.

Then he told the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the grand and respectable old vehicle of the civil rights movement, that he would not come to their annual conference because they were all liberals who were trying "to set me up". So much for his enemies.

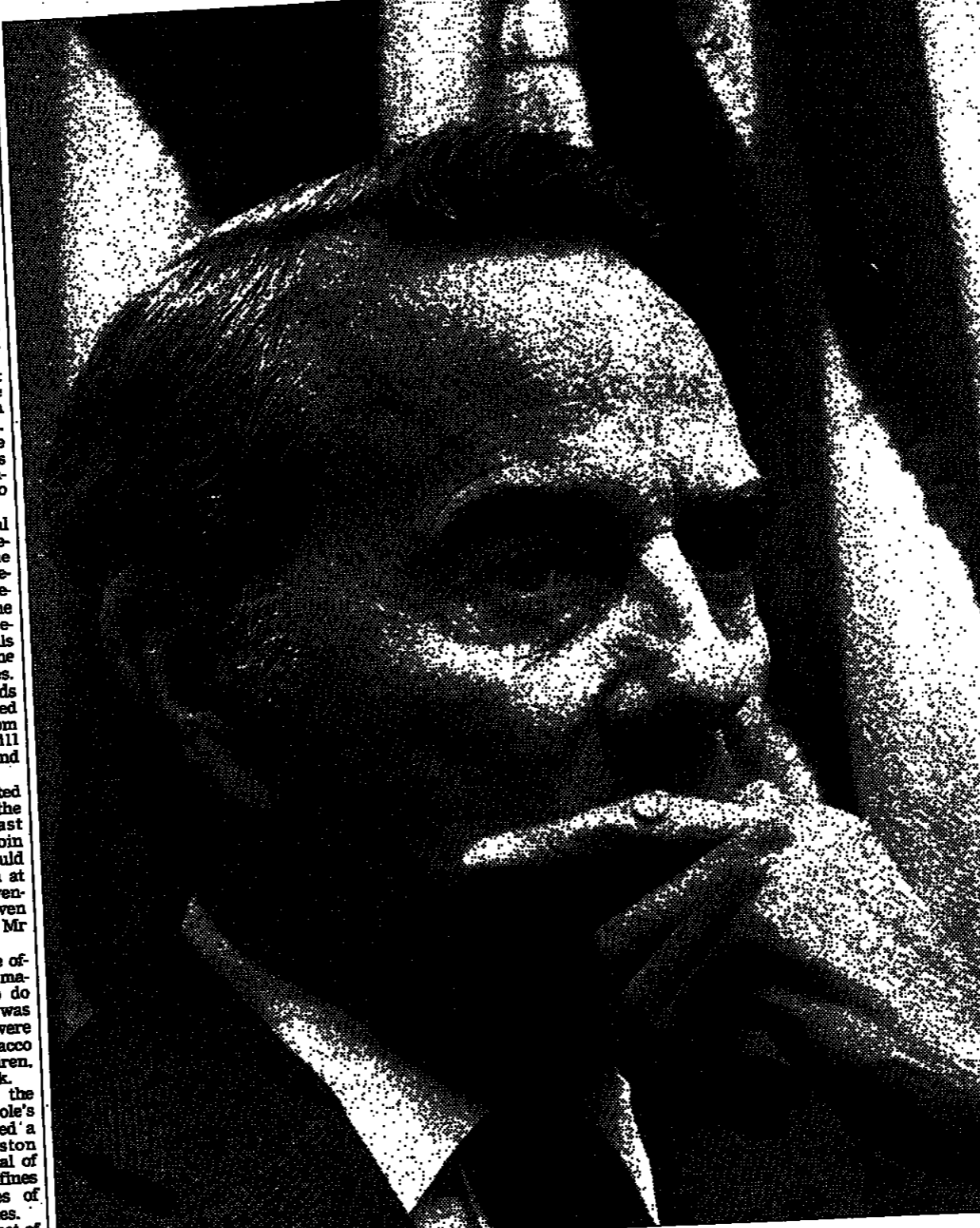
But the NAACP has friends of its own, such as the retired general Colin Powell, whom Mr Dole still hopes will answer the party's call and run as his vice-president. Gen Powell was infuriated by Mr Dole's rejection of the NAACP. He declared last week that he would not join Mr Dole's ticket. He would not give a keynote speech at the Republican Party convention. And he would not even promise to campaign for Mr Dole in the autumn.

Along the way, Mr Dole offended the overwhelming majority of Americans who do not smoke by saying he was not sure that cigarettes were addictive and that if tobacco was not good for children, neither was too much milk.

Just to cap the week, the vice-chairman of Mr Dole's fund-raising team reached a plea bargain with Boston prosecutors to pay a total of \$6 million (\$4 million) in fines for outrageous breaches of the campaign finance rules.

"I think I'll take the rest of this summer off," quipped George Stephanopoulos at the White House campaign staff meeting as Mr Dole kept the focus unerringly on his weakest issues: abortion, gun control and tobacco.

For the moment, Mr Clinton barely has to campaign as the late-night television comes keep up the crucial jobs of social Mr Dole being so his social security number is 2.



Even loyal Republicans are saying Bob Dole's campaign is the most feeble they have seen

Even the most loyal of Republicans, and members of Mr Dole's own policy advisory board, are saying this is the most feeble presidential campaign they have seen. Worse than George McGovern's defeat by Richard Nixon in 1972, worse even than the Lyndon Johnson landslide win in 1964 over Barry Goldwater.

William Buckley, the intellectual godfather of modern American conservatism, noted that Goldwater's sacrifice at least paved the way for

a conservative revival, and McGovern's trouncing opened the way for his left-wing allies to take over the party for a decade. Mr Dole, by contrast, "threatens to leave no trace whatsoever".

The betting wings of the Republican Party are almost ignoring their titular champion as the civil war over abortion rages on. Even if Mr Dole can cobble together a truce, the underlying wars with the Christian fundamentalists will continue.

But Mr Dole's biggest problem may be not his own weakness so much as his opponent's strength. Bill Clinton has so dramatically turned around his fortunes since the nadir of November 1994, when the Democrats were drummed out of the House and Senate in the mid-term elections, that he is now the strongest incumbent since Ronald Reagan beat Walter Mondale in 1984.

He can boast an economic record that puts Europe and Japan to shame. In 1992 he promised to create 8 million jobs; this week's total was 10 million and rising. Inflation is under control, and the economy is predicted to keep growing, at least until November.

With prosperity comes peace — at least for Americans. There are no American deaths in Haiti and Bosnia, to haunt the country's television screens, and while riots in Ulster and a Likudnik in Jerusalem alarm the foreign policy crowd they are not the stuff of election campaigns.

Only a communist victory in Moscow might have become that, allowing Bob Mr Dole to ask "Who lost Russia?"

The president surveys a political landscape that has not looked so favourable for a Democrat since 1976, or perhaps 1964. Blacks are on board, galvanised by the welfare-cutting affirmative action-bashing warriors of Newt Gingrich's Congress. Jews are solid, and so are many of the 44 million Americans who claim an Irish heritage — impressed by the peace effort and last year's visit to Dublin and Belfast.

The elderly Mr Clinton's defence of Medicare, the health insurance system for pensioners. Women so favour Clinton that the so-called gender gap has become a chasm: the last Harris poll found the president 31 points ahead among women who like his defence of abortion rights and his emphasis on children.

Blue-collar white men, especially in the South, remain hostile to Mr Clinton, homosexuals are disenchanted by the way he changed his mind about gays in the military, and Roman Catholics are angry about his vetoing a bill to ban, particularly unpleasant, a form of late-term abortion. But, with the backing of organised labour and leftwingers with liberals and leftwingers terrified by the prospect of a Dole-Gingrich partnership in Pennsylvania Avenue, Mr Clinton has reassembled key parts of the old Democratic coalition just apart by Ronald Reagan.

The evidence is in the machine-like discipline of today's Democrats. Since 1994 drubbing, the party has not engaged in the fratricide of most oppositions; rather it has united to fight the Republican enemy. The absence of backbench rebellions in Congress — and the lack of a primary challenger to Mr Clinton — are the proof.

Mr Dole, the uncharismatic leader of a bitterly-divided party, faces the best campaign in United States politics, uniquely able to boast youth and experience.

So Mr Dole needs a miracle. He did not get one in Moscow. He can no longer count on Gen Powell for a charmed transplant. A Bosnian blood-bath or a Wall Street crash might do the trick, but Mr Dole cannot be seen campaigning for either.

The longed-for October surprise of His n' Hers criminal indictments from the Whitewater independent counsel Kenneth Starr has deflated since Mr Starr told the New Yorker he would exercise judicial "restraint", at least until the election.

And Mr Dole is running out of time. There are just five days left before the Olympic Games freezes that awesome Clinton lead into place as Americans switch the channel to Atlanta, where Mr Clinton will bestow presidential backslaps on glowing young US athletes bearing fistfuls of gold medals.

And Mr Dole will be 73.

News in brief

Former envoy says Britain made 'fatal error' on Europe

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

BRITAIN'S failure to be at the heart of Europe is "a far more fatal error than Suez", according to Sir Robin Roxburgh, the recently retired British ambassador to Washington, whose new memoir is likely to be seized on as an implicit attack on the European policies of John Major and Margaret Thatcher.

In Fighting Among Allies — America and England at Peace and War, Sir Robin argues that Britain needs to have a more modest view of the so-called special relationship with the United States, which he describes as "a speciality close relationship" that is not unique.

He targets those Euro-sceptic Thatcherites who suggest Britain can side with Washington instead of Brussels, claiming that Britain will not enjoy the privileged position with the US if it remains on the margins of Europe. His statement confirms the suspicion that Bonn has become more important to the US administration than London.

Sir Robin complains that France and Germany make all the key decisions about Europe, Spain and Italy exercise a moderating role, and Britain is on the sidelines, fearing the action.

The former envoy — who also served in South Africa and was said to be a favourite of Baroness Thatcher — argues that Britain has to ditch its divide-and-rule approach to Europe, playing France and Germany off each other.

"The Franco-German relationship will continue to be more important to both countries than the relationship with Britain is to either of them," he writes.

The memoir traces the root of the problem to Britain's failure to sign the Treaty of Rome in 1957, citing it as a strategic disaster greater than the ill-fated Suez invasion a year earlier. But it is clear that Sir Robin is equally impressed with handling of the government's top military commander, Ahmad Shah Masood — Reuter.

Corsica pledge

President Jacques Chirac, promising to eradicate what he called Mafia-style gangs in Corsica, said yesterday that the government would disarm gunmen defying the law on the island. — Reuter.

Cinemas shut

The Afghanistan interim cabinet of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar closed cinemas and banned music on state television and radio yesterday, but the action was criticised by the government's top military commander, Ahmad Shah Masood — Reuter.

Peck 'stable'

The film star Gregory Peck, aged 80, was in a state of emergency surgery after emergency surgery in Karlovy Vary for a suspected intestinal ailment, shortly after receiving a Czech movie award, the Czech news agency CTK reported. — Reuter.

£1.5m gems theft

Two suitcases filled with 3 million marks (£1.5 million) worth of jewels were stolen from the back seat of a car in Frankfurt while their owner was changing a tyre. — AP.

Moscow alert for Gore visit

Russian security forces were on high alert yesterday after last week's bombings as US Vice-President Al Gore began an official visit.

Today Mr Gore is due to meet President Boris Yeltsin, the first Western leader to do so since the Kremlin chief was re-elected for a second four-year term on July 3. — Reuter.

Tamil killings

Tamil Tiger rebels hit a security forces' bunker in the Jaffna peninsula, northern Sri Lanka, yesterday, killing 13 soldiers and losing many of their own, the defence ministry said. — Reuter.

Charles in Brunei

Michael Jackson and Prince Charles are in Brunei for the birthday celebrations of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah today, officials said. — Reuter.

Mugabe to wed

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe plans a church wedding next month to his former secretary Grace Masuku, the state-controlled Sunday Mail reports. They are already married under African traditional law. — AP.

Phil Gunson reports on the widening gap between rich and poor as market forces dictate unequal income distribution

PHIL GUNSON reports on the widening gap between rich and poor as market forces dictate unequal income distribution

BOB DOLE understands his central problem: if a star is not able to perform, the show needs a crowd-pulling understudy. That explains why Mr Dole is still agonising over his choice of running mate, a decision he admits will be the most important of his presidential campaign.

The pressure on him is intense, because he must choose a partner who not only does no harm — the usual rule in selecting a vice-presidential candidate — but can also compensate for some of the candidate's own serious deficiencies.

First, Mr Dole badly needs to infuse some excitement into his campaign. That requires a running mate with charisma and television charm, both qualities the candidate himself lacks.

Desperately seeking a second string

Second, at the age of 73 — and seeking to be the oldest first-term president ever — he needs a number two who is a plausible number one. No one says it that bluntly but, when the candidate is so old, the succession matters.

The one man who passes both tests is Colin Powell — the retired general who would deliver a sizeable chunk of America's black votes too. But Gen Powell has repeatedly said he does not want the job.

Another leading candidate is New Jersey's governor, Christine Todd Whitman. Nominating Ms Whitman would lift Mr Dole's stagnant campaign, and cut

inroads into Bill Clinton's lead among women voters. But like Gen Powell, she has said she would decline the job, suggesting she believes she might sink with Mr Dole.

Ms Whitman's drawbacks are her support for abortion rights and her relative inexperience. The latter caveat applies to the two other women being considered: the Texas senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, and the former labour secretary Lynn Martin.

So a shortlist of "grey-hairs" has emerged, consisting of veteran politicians who would not undermine Mr Dole's credibility.

Mr Dole's favourite is said to be Richard Cheney, the defence secretary during the Gulf war. But he has had more heart attacks — hardly a comfort to voters worried about a frail commander-in-chief.

Other safe pairs of hands fall the charisma test. More lively are Pennsylvania's governor, Tom Ridge, and the former South Carolina governor Carroll Campbell.

Difficult times ahead for right's standard-bearer

THE week's final days of phase one of the 1996 presidential campaign, if Bob Dole cannot close the gap on Bill Clinton by Friday, he faces two weeks of media neglect as the country tunes to the Olympics. By the end of the games, he will have just three months to turn things around — a feat no challenger has managed when an incumbent is so far ahead.

August 11: Mr Dole will be forced to share the spotlight on the eve of the Republican Convention in San Diego. Ross Perot's Reform Party gathers 100 miles away in Long Beach, California — precisely the spoiler event the Dallas billionaire hoped for.

August 12-18: The convention is meant to be a flag-waving, balloon-dropping coronation. But it could turn into a

1980s Labour Party conference: civil war, walkouts, fratricidal bloodletting. Anti-abortion delegates threaten disruption if the running mate is not to their liking.

September: Mr Dole travels the country, trying to reassure women, blacks and the elderly — all worried by Republicans' slash-and-burn recent past. He will have to implement Richard Nixon's deathbed advice: run from the centre, without alienating the party's base.

October: The month of dread, as he competes in television debates with Bill Clinton. Three showdowns will make aides sweat: their man could look stiff and old next to the telegenic president.

November 5: D-Day — and it will all be over.

Billionaires cream off Latin America's wealth

Phil Gunson reports on the widening gap between rich and poor as market forces dictate unequal income distribution

CARLOS SLIM is the richest man in Latin America. "Put whatever figure you like," he is reported to have told researchers from Forbes magazine trying to assess his personal wealth.

Forbes put him down for \$6.1 billion (\$24 billion), \$2.1 billion more than a year ago, but still \$500 million less than before the Mexican peso collapsed in December 1994.

There are 35 dollar-billionaires in Latin America, according to Forbes, of whom 15 are Mexicans.

A country in which, according to United Nations figures, half the population cannot afford an adequate daily calorie intake ranks fifth in the world by number of billionaires — behind the United States, Germany, Japan and Hong Kong.

In Brazil, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso admits that his country has probably the worst income distribution in the world, but insists his government is trying to tackle the problem.

The sociologist Herbert de Souza, a government adviser whose programmes to reduce hunger earned him a Nobel prize nomination, disagreed. He resigned from the government in May.

In 1990, the poorest 50 per cent of Brazilians accounted for 17.7 per cent of national income. By 1990, their income had fallen to 10.3 per cent of the total. Brazil's current tally of billionaires is 10.

The World Bank says that, in most Latin American countries for which comparative figures exist, income distribution deteriorated in the 1980s.

There is every indication that the trend has continued, especially in countries which embraced privatisation and deregulation after the so-called "lost decade" of the 1980s.

Between 1990 and 1995, Latin American governments divested themselves of 845 state companies. Mexico privatised 221.

As the political scientist Jorge Castañeda points out, since almost all privatisations were effected by sales to existing private sector conglomerates, there is little doubt that they further concentrated assets in nations where small numbers already controlled huge chunks of the national patrimony.

In 1991, Mexico had two dollar billionaires on the Forbes list. By 1994, the figure had risen to 24, as a direct result of privatisation.

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Germany of ravers Love Par money-s

Bearus n tread o

The Spanish feminist who ever posters young women rifles slung o were for rect



Germany's family of ravers turn Love Parade into money-spinner

Denis Staunton in Berlin

AFTER four hours of flexing his muscles to the Techno beat aboard one of the Love Parade's 40 throbbing loud-speaker trucks, the go-go dancer was getting desperate.

Wearing nothing but a tiny pair of black shorts, hiking boots and dark glasses, he pleaded with the



Techno music fans parade past Berlin's Brandenburg Gate on the Love Parade, which has become the defining event for a new generation of Germans

crowd below to pass him up a drink. A few tried to throw him cans of cola or beer and others attempted to clamber aboard the truck — but nothing reached him.

Then a skinhead pointed a giant water pistol into the air and a jet of water shot upwards, falling in an arc directly into the dancer's gaping mouth. The crowd roared with delight, just as they did each time a raver

climbed a lamppost and when a girl ripped off her clothes and plunged into a fountain.

On the face of it, the 750,000 people who thronged the centre of Berlin for the Love Parade on Saturday appeared to have little in common apart from their youth.

They came from all over Germany in special Love Trains, strapping Westerners glowing with prosperity

and gruel-faced Easterners who struggle to make ends meet.

Swaggering Turkish boys danced happily alongside skinheads and off-duty football hooligans mingled contentedly with leather-clad gays.

Police praised the behaviour of festival-goers — only 34 people were arrested for offences such as possessing drugs and ignoring police orders.

This year's motto was "We are one family" but, with floats representing such divergent interests as Camel cigarettes, Greenpeace and the "Rave 4 Christ", it was a powerful celebration of diversity.

When DJ Dr Mottis addressed the crowd at the end of the nine-hour parade, he called on everyone to use music to promote peace and understanding between different peoples.

As he spoke, German television news bulletins showed violent pictures from Belfast and Londonderry.

The parade's route through the Tiergarten to the Brandenburg Gate and back to the Prussian Victory Column was laden with historical significance, but few of the ravers seemed burdened by their country's savage history. If they were looking for a role

Belarus returns to the bad old days

Matthew Brzezinski in Minsk reports on a suppression of dissent that smacks of dictatorship

AMISTY drizzle shrouds the Soviet star that crowns the huge obelisk on Victory square. Beneath it, an guard of honour goose-steps to the sombre wail of Tchaikovsky.

Thousands of elderly war veterans, dripping with medals, huddle before the monument under black umbrellas and drenched red Soviet flags.

KGB watchers video-tape the procession. They focus their cameras on several Western observers and young state enterprise employees, hunched in to the government-sponsored march, who try to leave discreetly after the official head-counts.

The scene could be straight out of pre-perestroika Moscow. But it was played out recently in Minsk, capital of the former Soviet republic of Belarus, where the hardline president, Alexander Lukashenko, is determined to restore a Stalinist system.

On July 1 Belarus became the only European country whose citizens need permission to travel abroad. The new iron curtain isolating this tiny country wedged between Poland and Russia also covers the information highway. Internet surfers must now register with the militia.

The restrictions are part of a crackdown on dissent: independent newspapers have been closed, dozens of journalists violently crushed and jails filled with hundreds of political opponents.

In Belarus you can be branded an enemy of the state for pro-Western views, supporting the free market, criticising the president's policies or opposing the restoration of the former Soviet Union.

This is an allegation that kangaroo courts in Belarus take seriously: a deaf and mute teenager was tried recently for shouting anti-state slogans.

"We have a communist dictatorship in the making," said Pavel Sheremet, editor-

in-chief of one of the largest opposition dailies. The paper, like six other independent publications, has to print its editions in neighbouring Lithuania because it has been denied access to the state-owned printing works and distribution networks.

Its troubles do not stop there. In late June, four unidentified men beat up the wife of an outspoken journalist working for Mr Sheremet, telling her they would return to visit her husband unless he changed the tone of his articles.

Since then several other spouses of independent journalists have been threatened by men in the streets.

Mr Lukashenko, the 41-year-old former collective farm director elected to power in 1994, sees his mission as restoring order from the chaos that has prevailed since the Soviet Union collapsed. He has vowed to run "the bunch of crooks" that have opened shops, businesses and banks since 1991 out of the country.

He has banned the registration of new private businesses and started proceedings to close existing ones. He has tried to restore a command economy with fixed production schedules and artificial exchange rates.

Belarus's small business community is angry, but few are screaming foul. Most keep portraits of the president on their desks. Not surprising, considering he has the backing of a vast majority of voters which, according to Western diplomats, employs 150,000 of the country's 10 million citizens.

Indeed, militiamen in neat olive-grey uniforms, plain-faced KGB officers at the wheels of dark Volga sedans and dreaded Omon elite riot squads lurk on every street corner in the dreary capital.

Shortly after Mr Lukashenko's election Omon squads were sent into parliament to drag out MPs who opposed his declaration to rule by decree.

Piotr Kapitula, a top adviser to Mr Lukashenko, defends the crackdown. "President Lukashenko supports freedom of speech and democracy," he said. "But free speech entails responsibility and unfortunately certain people are irresponsible."

UK to block Burma sanctions

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok

BITAIN, already defying the Burmese democracy movement's appeals to West to shun trade and investment with the military regime, seems likely to obstruct calls for sanctions against Burma at a meeting of European Union foreign ministers in Brussels today.

Backed by other EU member states, notably Ireland, which holds the EU presidency, London is expected to argue that any sanctions

should first receive international support. As a result, EU foreign ministers are likely to refer the issue to a study group.

Britain's lack of enthusiasm for sanctions is consistent with Department of Trade and Industry efforts, exposed in yesterday's Observer, to explore new business opportunities in Burma. A DTI official arrived in Rangoon for that purpose last month on the day that the Foreign Office minister Jeremy Hanley told the Commons that Britain supported democratic reform and had cancelled a proposed trade

mission to Burma. The case for EU sanctions is being led by Denmark, citing a crackdown against the democracy movement there by the ruling junta and the death in detention of its honorary consul, James Nichols, who also represented Finland, Norway and Switzerland.

The US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, said last week that Washington was considering the use of sanctions but was looking at other forms of pressure first.

Mr Nichols was charged with possessing unauthorised telephone and fax machines but was almost certainly

jailed because of his close links to the Burmese democracy movement's leader, Aung San Suu Kyi.

The Norwegian government said last week it had evidence that the 65-year-old Mr Nichols was tortured with sleep deprivation before his death.

The junta has added to the outrage at Mr Nichols's death by stalling on requests for details of the circumstances and ignoring requests for information from the governments he worked for as consul.

The Burmese authorities had Mr Nichols buried 13 hours after his death and without the presence of either diplomats or relations. Diplomats say the Burmese foreign ministry has ignored a request by the European governments for a medical report. It has also ignored their application for an independent autopsy.

The EU meeting comes at a time when renewed action by the Burmese junta against Ms Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy, seems possible. Rangoon residents are speculating how she will mark Martyrs' Day on Friday, commemorating her father, the independence hero Aung San,

murdered with five others in 1948.

Her plans to mark the occasion in 1989 with a march by her supporters was seen as contributing to her detention for six years under house arrest.

Ms Suu Kyi also appears to have put herself on a collision course with the junta this year by her determination to prepare a draft constitution as an alternative to the charter under debate in a military-dominated convention. The junta passed a law last month threatening anyone belittling the convention with jail.



Detail from Guerin's La Mort de Brutus, which inspired Mr Bordes to stage his exhibition

Museum set to put Brutus back on his pedestal

Paul Webster in Vizille

TWO hundred years on, Lucius Junius Brutus's legendary contribution to the Terror is being reassessed in an exhibition at the French Revolution museum near Grenoble.

Brutus, remembered for his oath of vengeance after the rape of Lucretia by King Tarquin's son, was one of the first consuls of the Roman Republic established in 509 BC. In 1789 he became the idol of French republicanism — only to be cast down with Maximilien Robespierre hardly five years after the fall of the Bastille.

Vizille, a town famous for its anti-royalist fervour before the Revolution, has taken on the task of rehabilitating Lucius Brutus. The town boasts the most important museum dedicated to 1789, but it attracts only 45,000 visitors a year because of poor transport links.

The exhibition organiser, Philippe Bordes, was inspired by the recent acqui-

sition of a 1793 painting by Pierre-Narcisse Guerin called La Mort de Brutus. This was finished at the peak of Brutus's popularity soon after his bust was placed on the desk of the national assembly's speaker when the first republic was founded in 1792.

"Revolutionaries of 1789 referred unhesitatingly to Lucius Junius Brutus as a god-father turned against them," Mr Bordes said.

"He was chosen to impose the rule of law, patriotic devotion and an inflexible attitude towards traitors. In fact, his image could serve to justify informing, arbitrary cruel judgments and the blind obedience of government officials to state violence."

that followed Lucretia's rape.

One of the most influential paintings was by a Scotsman, Gavin Hamilton. His depiction of Brutus's oath inspired a gallery of French neo-classicists, including Guerin and Jacques-Louis David.

"Voltaire's tragedy Brutus raised republican citizenship to an ideal, and by the time Louis XVI had been decapitated Brutus was one of the most popular first names in Paris and Marseille.

Many of the Revolution's great figures cited the ancient Roman's condemnation of his sons as a justification of the Terror.

"It is fair to say that the adoption of Brutus as a god-father turned against them," Mr Bordes said.

Young China bashes US

'The Chinese race is at a most crucial moment and we should stand up and build a new Great Wall with our own flesh and blood'

Andrew Higgins

FOR more than two millennia, the Great Wall — 3,750 miles of earth and brick — has served as the symbol of Chinese pride, power and not infrequent paranoia.

But it is a modest wall in Washington DC that animates the darker fantasies of China's new nationalists.

The 267th slab of black granite is inscribed with the names of 58,196 Americans killed in Vietnam. Radical Chinese patriots predict the erection of a second memorial wall on Washington's central mall. It will be needed, they say, to record all the Americans who perish in a coming war with China over Taiwan.

"Washington should prepare to engrave the names of even more young Americans on an even higher and still wider memorial wall," warns a 435-page manifesto of militant Chinese nationalism.

The tract is the work of five young Chinese writers — journalists and poets — members of the intelligentsia that only seven years ago paraded into Tiananmen Square to chant for democracy and cheer a plaster replica of the Statue of Liberty.

"When we were in university, we all admired American culture and worshipped Western things," said Song Qiang, the television journalist, aged 31, who masterminded the book. "Now that we are older we realise that we don't have to despise our own country."

admire them," said Mr Song. "We want Americans, the English, and other Westerners to understand what the young people of China today really think."

The result is China Can Say No, a wild jumble of conspiracy theory, anti-Western polemic and bombastic insecurity. The title mimics the Japan that Can Say No, a 1989 tract by a Japanese nationalist, Shintaro Ishihara, and the former Sony chairman Akio Morita. In tone and style, though, it resembles more closely a rant by the Russian ultra-nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

The authors deny any gov-

ernment role in the project but, in a country where every printed word is vetted for signs of political heterodoxy, their cause clearly enjoys official favour.

An initial print run of 50,000 copies sold out within weeks. Wen Wei Po, a Beijing-controlled newspaper in Hong Kong, is now serialising extracts, part of a campaign to drum up patriotic fervour in the colony before Britain pulls out next year.

Its chapter headings include "Don't be afraid of saying: Let's get ready for war" and "Burn down Hollywood".

The manifesto sees Russia as China's future ally in an anti-Western axis, hails the "iron will and unyielding extremism" of Iran's Islamic revolution and mocks the US as a flabby has-been bent on thwarting China's rise to

superpower status. "The downfall of the United States is just a matter of time."

US demands that China close factories churning out pirated copies of films, software and compact discs are dismissed as a plot. China must retaliate by charging foreigners for the use of paper, gunpowder and other pirated Chinese inventions.

Even the dinner table becomes an east-west battleground. "How come foreigners will laugh at our way of managing forks and knives at the dinner table while they do not even know how to use chopsticks properly? Are Western forks and knives better than Chinese chopsticks? Fuck off."

Mr Song conceded that the book was not always coherent. He said it was written in only three weeks. "We wanted to get people's attention. We are serious but we also have a sense of humour."

Its wacky belligerence should delight Chinese diplomats. They have spent much time arguing that any challenge to Beijing on human rights or copyright piracy will inflame nationalist feelings and produce a dangerous anti-foreign backlash.

The book began in much the same way as the student protests of 1989, growing out of the informal discussion groups Chinese intellectuals call *sha-long* — salons.

In the 1980s such discussions focused on the pro-Western and pro-democracy themes of dissident intellectuals like the astrophysicist Fang Lihai. But with professor Fang in exile in the US and the ideas he championed banished with him, young Chinese wave the flag instead of protest banners.

The Spanish Civil War also briefly watered the seeds of a feminist revolt. For the first time ever posters of good-looking young women in overalls with rifles slung over their shoulders were for recruitment drives.

G2 cover story



Avoiding civil war in Ulster

Brinkmanship must end now

ULSTER stands once again at the abyss after the first terrorist bomb for two years. If it tips over, it won't be down to predestination but because people individually and collectively will act out the Pavlovian responses of hundreds of years of irrational hatred. It is vital for all parties to lead and to look beyond the self-gratification of instant revenge. Looking backwards has been Ireland's fatal obsession. Of course, with hindsight it would have been Sir Hugh Annesley had escorted the loyalist march in the first place instead of being forced to do a humiliating U-turn. But it would have been even better if the loyalists hadn't wantonly planned a show of strength to protect rites of passage through a Catholic enclave. If the talks are to succeed there will have to be big compromises among Catholics, Protestants, the Irish government, the British government and the paramilitaries. If the Protestants' contribution is to refuse to divert the course of a historic march by a few hundred yards then how on earth can they compromise on much bigger constitutional issues?

It is possible to draw a doomsday optimism from the IRA's denial of involvement in the evil bomb attack on Enniskillen's Killiyehvin Hotel on Saturday night during innocent wedding celebrations. The IRA — whose abandonment of the ceasefire bears a heavy responsibility for heightened Protestant fears — doesn't normally lie about its atrocities, with the recent exception of the murder of a policeman in the Irish republic. If the Enniskillen bombing turns out to have been done by an IRA splinter group, like the military wing of Republican Sinn Fein, then it has ominous implications but nothing compared with a renewal of the IRA's bombing campaign in the North. This would trigger Protestant reprisals and a brutal end to the glimpse of ordinary life that everyone has enjoyed these past two years.

The vast majority still desperately want peace and their views must prevail either by mass street demonstrations or by their leaders once more seizing the initiative. Sinn Fein must convert its pathetic parrot cry that the British government is always responsible for whatever goes wrong into positive leadership while the British government must give Ulster the priority it demands even in an election year during which its unionist tail threatens its fragile majority. Perhaps free copies of Nelson Mandela's autobiography should be distributed to show true Christian values, including his inspiring ability to see good in his enemies throughout his political life. He displayed the virtues of charity and forgiveness which have been absent recently from so-called Ulster Christians, whose arcane theological difficulties will continue to haffle non-believers everywhere. The lesson both of South Africa and of Ulster is that where there is a will there really is a way. John Hume may have been falling into fatal Irish short-termism when he withdrew yesterday from the forum (though he is staying in the talks process), but he was right to say that the streets of Northern Ireland are screaming for the implementation of all parties principles. The talks must go on with all parties prepared to participate before the results are put to a referendum. The alternative — a return to sectarian civil war — is dangerously close. In the cauldron of Ulster politics even an hour is a long time.

Taming the climate

First, the big corporations must be faced

MANY PEOPLE — as John Mortimer suggested in our columns — will be delighted at the prospect of global warming provided with a Mediterranean climate by global warming. If only it was so simple. Cold reality arrives this week when environment ministers meet in Geneva at a crucial world climate conference following the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio. Even in 1992, the group of 2500 scientists advising the UN was uncertain about the links between weather trends and the build-up of greenhouse gases. Now global warming is not a theory but a fact.

History shows how climatic change can wipe out forests or other eco-systems, eliminating hundreds of species. Rio's climate convention was called to stabilise the world's atmosphere. Yet even its modest target — a reduction in the rising emission of carbon dioxide by the year 2000 — will be missed by most 1990 levels by the year 2000 — as warm as industrial nations. A Henley-on-Thames as warm as Sienna has obvious allure for chianti-shire enthusiasts like John Mortimer. But pushing climate zones further south will have devastating effects on many nations. Already a chronic water shortage affects 80 states. Current projections show the average flow of the Indus river in Pakistan falling by 43 per cent and the Niger in Africa by 31 per cent by 2000. Stand by for water wars in Africa and the Middle East and millions of environmental refugees.

A World Health Organisation panel has compared the current industrial lobby against further restrictions on energy consumption to the tobacco industry's tactics when scientists first linked cancer to cigarette smoking 30 years ago. Re-aligning an energy system so that fossil fuels (currently providing 60 per cent of global energy supply) are shifted from a predominant to a supplementary energy supplier, pits ministers against the world's most powerful corporations: oil companies, car manufacturers, energy producers. The industrial lobby has hitherto successfully restrained progress since Rio. It has emasculated President Clinton's 1993 plan to clean up polluted America — the world's biggest emitter of carbon dioxide — and rallied the Republican Party to its cause for the 1996 presidential elections.

Now it is intent on stalling the agreement made at last year's Berlin conference for a protocol to be added to the 1992 treaty setting out further targets and timetables beyond 2000. The scientists want at least a 50 per cent reduction in carbon emissions — but industry will resist further restrictions. Much will depend on President Clinton's readiness to take on the producers' lobby. Given the geographic spread and the multi-generational time frame of the problem, the task is daunting. Yet new forms of energy open up new economic opportunities as Japan has quickly recognised. This week, ministers need to re-affirm the Berlin manifesto and commit themselves to a new energy efficiency strategy. Longer term we need emission trading systems and less damaging energy supplies.

Letters to the Editor

Banish the bill, not the refugee

THE CHANGES proposed in the Asylum and Immigration Bill, particularly the withdrawal of benefits from asylum-seekers, are deeply worrying. If the Government enacts this legislation, which returns to the Commons today for its final reading, it will profoundly alter this country's tradition of affording a haven to refugees. The granting of asylum to refugees is central to the Christian practice of offering hospitality to those fleeing war and persecution. The 1951 UN Convention defines a refugee as a person fleeing from persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. Although Britain is a party to this convention, in reality, even those who meet its requirements may still not be granted asylum. The withdrawal of benefits will prevent many genuine asylum-seekers from exercising their legal rights. As Lord Justice Brown stated in his judgment (Judges scorn asylum policy, June 22): "A significant number of genuine asylum-seekers [are] impaled on the horns of so intolerable a dilemma: the need either to abandon their claims to refugee status, or alternatively to maintain themselves... in a state of utter destitution."

Fair and efficient procedures are necessary to ensure that asylum cases are processed justly and expeditiously. The withdrawal of benefits, however, is an indiscriminate deterrent which does not solve the serious problem of delays. The Government should seriously rethink its policies. The failure to provide adequate protection under the requirements of the UN Convention amounts to a betrayal of not only of Britain's legal obligations but also of our moral responsibility to provide refuge to those who flee violence and persecution. Rt Rev Patrick O'Donoghue, Bishop in West London. Julian Filochowski, Director, CAFOD. John Joseph, Catholic Bishop's Conference. Sr Marie Power, Conference of Religious in England and Wales. Michael Feehan, Catholic Archbishop of Westminster. c/o 46 Francis Street, London SW1P 1QN.

WOULD only like to join issue with one point in Hugo Young's excellent article (A case of ministers behaving badly, July 11). He says the Government's amendment, once again depriving asylum-seekers of benefits "meets the judges' legal points". We will not know whether this is so until it has once again been argued out in the courts. The judges found that the denial of benefits was contrary to Section 2 of the Asylum and Immigration Act 1993. This Act upholds the right to seek asylum in the United Kingdom. It also incorporates an international treaty. The Government does not admit that the denial of benefits threatens the right to seek asylum, but the question of whether one Act of Parliament contradicts another is not a question for the Government: it's a question for the judges. The Government could have made its position water-tight by repealing the right to seek asylum. The question whether Parliament can only repeal an international treaty by express words has not yet been argued — but it will be. Earl Russell, House of Lords, London SW1A 0AA.

ALREADY 8,000 asylum-seekers have been made destitute. They are staying in church halls, relying upon the hospitality of other asylum-seekers and refugees, many of whom are themselves dependent upon benefits. Many are undoubtedly on the streets. These are vulnerable people, in a new and strange land, fleeing horrifying situations, fearful, disoriented, confused and often unable to speak English. The support they receive in "civilised" Britain is a shop doorway and a begging bowl. The Government claims it has public support for its assault on asylum-seekers. We refuse to believe that the majority of decent people believe that such inhumanity is worth the 0.2 per cent of the social security budget the Government claims it will save. Diane Abbott MP. And seven others. Letters to the Editor may be faxed on 0171 837 4530 or sent by post to 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and by e-mail to letters@guardian.co.uk

Nelson expects every business this day to do its duty

I AM glad that the president of my native country has been celebrated in Britain. I am, however, much less convinced that there is any real willingness amongst political leaders or businessmen to give him much help in building the new South Africa. Throughout the years of white supremacy and apartheid both major parties effectively failed to oppose South Africa in the UN. Pre-Tutu, Africa in the UN. Pre-Tutu, English-speaking churches were also complicit in the maintenance of the apartheid system, even though a royal line of individual clergymen (Scott, Reeves, Huddleston) provided an exception. Even the left-wing has remained silent for daring to celebrate Mandela's 70th birthday because he was regarded as a terrorist. South Africa needs economic aid to build up its infrastructure, especially in education, to combat racial inequality. It has been offered a desirous sum, enough to make a partial contribution to a bypass around Soweto. The ANC and the South African Communist Party have chosen to rely on private capitalist investment as the engine of change. But, to judge

from some of the responses to Mandela's appeal, there is limited enthusiasm for investment in South Africa by British capital. What is needed is a movement to succeed Anti-Apartheid and his colleagues be given the means to create a genuine non-racial society. Without this we shall see simply tired politicians trying to bask in his reflected glory. (Prof) John Rex, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL. IT IS sad that nobody has acknowledged the role of exiled musicians in highlighting the evils of apartheid. It is time to celebrate the genius of such as Chris McGregor, Dudu Puku, Harry Miller and Harry Miller — and all those associated with the Brotherhood of Breath. Their music was a challenge to the senses, their example a challenge to the ideology of the then South African government. They died not just in exile but of exile. Liz Harris, 123 Taplow, Adelaide Road, London NW3 3MU.

Music fit for the royal fireworks

PLEASE allow one politically-wavering, professionalist to disabuse Lord Aitken of his high opinion of Sir Edward Heath's conducting (Outlook, July 13). Although I have never heard Heath play the piano, I have had the misfortune to play under his baton on several occasions. In all essentials he is deficient: he can neither start a piece efficiently nor maintain a steady tempo with a clear sense of direction. Most laughable of all are his attempts to handle the orchestra in concertos. The shambles for which he was responsible on one occasion at the end of Moura Lympany's cadenza in the last movement of the Emperor concerto, and his pathetic attempt to follow a solo cellist in Tchaikovsky's Rocco variations on another, remain vivid in my memory several years after the events. Basil Howitt, 21 Mauldeth Road West, Withington, Manchester M20 3EQ.

I DO not take issue with the pleasant things you say about Sir Edward Heath (Leader, July 8) but I do question a system which allows people to serve in Parliament over the age of 65, whereas an octogenarian in the House of Commons is quite permissible? H Colin Biggs, 8 Meadoway, Longton, Preston, Lancs PR4 5BB.

GIVEN Diana's pop-star image, perhaps she ought now to be styled "the woman formerly known as Princess". L M Stockman and David Harper, Queen Mary and Westfield College, London E1 4NS.

THE Prince of Wales supports a drive against those who consider quality "mediocrity and inadequacy". It is funny, but there is only one joke: Friends is nauseating. They throw up fewer

Many hands make heavy work

DISAGREE with the glib assertion that American sitcoms are better than their English counterparts (How Neil grew up, G2, July 10). Admittedly, America has a history of producing high-quality half-hours, but the times of Billie, Mash or Cheers have long gone. Today's crop comes nowhere near this standard and pales dreadfully against their British contemporaries. Roseanne is past its sell-by date; Frazier may be funny, but there is only one joke: Friends is nauseating. They throw up fewer

laughs than the theme tune to Oh Doctor Beeching and nobody watches them. The number of writers must be the reason for this inferiority. A committee may produce enough wisecracks for a stateside run, but they will never produce the daily freshness of Men Behaving Badly. Nor can they match the viewing figures of Goodnight Sweetheart. In comedy, British is best. (Dr) Graham G Almond, 8 Park View, Oatnashaw, Crook, Co Durham DL15 0ST.

A Country Diary

NEW ABBEY, DUMFRIES: With sunlight still streaming onto the woodland floor, it seemed unlikely that the badgers were going to emerge yet. But, suddenly, there they were, trotting in my direction. Previously I scouted the layout of the sett, so I knew they had started the evening with a visit to the shallow pits which serve these house-proud animals as a latrine. This was my first sighting of badger, but it is one of the less beneficial impacts of wildlife television that it can blunt one's response to the genuine article. It felt as if I had always known exactly how they would be, even so, I noted details previously overlooked: how the white ear-tips stood out against the two, black facial stripes and how the adjacent white stripes terminated on the neck in convex scoops of cream. Although I continued to watch them for a further hour, most impressive of all were the abundant signs of their long-established presence. Paths criss-crossed this steep-sided wood in all directions, and from these arteries ran numerous trails, which the badgers had made in more recent forays. Amongst the blankets of bluebells, the woodland floor was everywhere pocked with bare earth, where they had dug for worms. The two main sets, one either side of a stream, consisted of about 20 holes and outside each was a pile of spoil earth topped with old bedding. Some of these mounds were a couple of years of occupancy, the soil having been pushed up and trampled down until it formed a hard dome. One record set included 180 entrances and 880 metres of tunnel, while some piled for centuries. Although I couldn't calculate the period of residence here, as I walked away with the owls hooting, I knew what it meant to speak of a badger wood. MARK COCKER

Red faces over an Orange climbdown

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

SINCE Wednesday, I have read a dozen times that Members of Parliament sacrificed both goodwill and respect when they voted for a 28,000-per cent increase in their salaries. No doubt, but (or do I mean we?) were held in such esteem before the fatal 26 per cent was even recommended by the pay review. Men and women who think that Paul Gascoigne is worth an annual fortune believe that the MPs who make their laws do not deserve to earn in a year what Gaza is paid in less than a month. If politicians were admired, their pay rates would not be a contentious issue. Last Friday evening, Sir Patrick Mayhew demonstrated one of the reasons why they (or we) are held in contempt, ridicule and occasional contempt. Normally, I think of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland as one of the better — indeed, one of the

best — of today's politicians. Usually he is calm, sensible and moderate. But three days ago he was blatantly absurd. First, he grew angry (or counterfeited anger) at the allegation that the Royal Ulster Constabulary had capitulated to the Orange marchers at Drumcree. Then he elaborated on his insistence that the forces of law and order would never yield to the threats of force or violence by virtually admitting that was exactly what they had done. How would you have reacted, he asked rhetorically, if 50,000 Orangemen had broken through the police cordon and begun to attack the Catholic houses either side of the Garvaghy Road? It is not necessary to have read Language, Truth and Logic to realise that Sir Patrick's two points were mutually contradictory. If the RUC ally capitulated because of the changed tactics because of the fear that it would first be overrun, and then become an impotent witness to a near massacre, it was yielding to force. It is, I suppose, possible to argue that it was yielding in a good cause — or at least a good cause — and that yielding it unnecessarily, and ob-

viously, was. And the highly intelligent Sir Patrick must have known it. What is more he must have realised that viewers all over Britain were wondering why he was pretending that the police had not been forced to retreat when the chief constable had more or less admitted that, being outnumbered, they had no choice but to withdraw. I can think of only one possible reason to explain — and perhaps even to an extent excuse — Sir Patrick's bizarre behaviour. There was a need, as he saw it, to rescue the peace process by protecting what is left of the Ulster Unionist party's reputation. For if he had admitted that there was an all-out confrontation — Orange lodges versus RUC — and that the police had given in, another admission would be unavoidable. When the rule of law broke down, David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, was on the wrong side of the barricades. Let me remind you how wrong that side was. Amongst the men wearing the sash that Trimble and his father wore there was an armoured bulldozer, which the chief const-

ble reasonably admitted he was afraid would be used to kill his men. And we are supposed to believe that avoiding death by murderous bulldozer is not yielding to force. You and I — not to mention Sir Patrick Mayhew — know that what Cardinal Cahal Daly said about victory for the mob was true. So, I suspect, does David Trimble, who wants to turn up at Stormont next week or the week after full of pious hopes for a reasonable settlement. Perhaps I have not been listening sufficiently intently, but I have not heard him unequivocally condemn either the plan to bulldoze through the police lines or the assertion of so many riotous Orangemen that the police had little choice but to bow to their wishes. Nor can I recall him denouncing what Paddy Ashdown rightly described as ethnic cleansing — the forcible removal of Catholic families from the so-called Protestant areas. And how, I wonder, does he feel about Catholic families being placed under what amounted to house arrest when the preposterous processions of life and drums

and drums march past. Is that also part of the loyalist heritage which he is determined to preserve? I feel nothing but distaste for Gerry Adams and have got into much trouble for saying so. I mean no compliment to him when I ask what the British newspapers would have written if a Sinn Fein march had brushed aside the police and forced itself on a Protestant community in the way that Orangemen forced themselves on Drumcree. Whether or not Adams had been seen on television arguing with the RUC, we would have been told that unless he denounced what had happened and those who organised the outrage, he must not be allowed to take part in the constitutional talks. But it seems that Trimble can support the march against the police at one minute and then speak up for law and order the next. Anyone who needs an example of double standards now operating in and about Northern Ireland, needs do no more than read the letters page of last Saturday's Times. In the prize spot at the top of the first column, Dr T S Callaghan described the peace process as

appeasement and defended "the majority of the community" from turning away from a process which "deals even-handedly with the representatives of terror and with decent people." What Dr Callaghan seems not to realise is that the marchers who faced down the police and intimidated decent people along the route were terrorists — despite their bowler hats and rolled umbrellas. The leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party has become their representative. I do not, for a second, condone the violence which followed the police capitulation. Nor do I believe either that the peace talks should be abandoned or that David Trimble should be disqualified from taking part until he renounces violence. Fragile though the chances of success now are, they are the best chances that we have. And Sir Patrick Mayhew must get on with it as best he can. I simply argue that the discussions are most likely to prosper if he abandons his recently developed habit of defying reason and ignoring obvious truths. If nothing else, he will convince people that he is worth his salary.

The Guardian
Holiday Diary
John Hooper

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom left of the page.



Misplaced nostalgia for years of turpitude Politicians hoist on fifties noose

Larry Elliott

HAROLD Macmillan is such a figure of hate in the modern Conservative Party that the idea of stealing his most famous bon mot is probably anathema to the new right. But sooner or later the temptation will prove irresistible.

Until now, a vestigial sense of decency has prevented any minister from uttering the fateful phrase, but be warned, before the next few months are out the dread words will be spoken: "You've never had it so good."

Kenneth Clarke is the likeliest Cabinet minister to spread the news, and not just because he is one of the few Tories with a good word to say for Supermac. He sincerely believes it and is genuinely perturbed that his economic achievements — the lowest interest rates for a generation, the lowest inflation for 40 years, the fastest-growing large economy in Europe — have yet to be reflected in the polls.

More than that, the Chancellor thinks Britain is on the brink of something big, a level of achievement not witnessed for a good many years. Not since the glory days of Harold Macmillan, in fact.

Actually, it is not just in economic policy that there is a palpable longing to return to what is seen as a kinder, gentler age. The whole of government policy is alive with fifties nostalgia — witness the call for the return of grammar schools and the three Rs, the notion that all the NHS needs is a few accountants and more Hattie Jacques figures in starched matrons' uniforms and a harsher edge to penal policy.

Nor is this search for the stability and security of a Bygone age confined to the Government. John Major may look back wistfully to the days when Jim Laker and Tony Lock were in tandem at the Oval, bowling them out for Surrey and England, but Labour's emphasis on rights and responsibilities also conjures up memories of the days of consensus and moral certainty.

As such, Labour argues that the state's duty is to take people off welfare and into work, thereby releasing funds for more useful purposes of spending. In return, though, parents should take responsibility for their children, while neighbours should be neighbourly and not play rock music until four in the morning.

In some ways the nostalgia is easy to comprehend. From the vantage point of the insecure nineties they are seen as the days of plenty, when Britain had full employment, rising living standards and low levels of crime. By contrast, the rains of terror almost unspeakable crimes in the

past week has left the impression of a lawless society teetering on the brink of anarchy and where the line between right and wrong has all but disappeared for large chunks of a lawless, amoral population.

But there are some big problems with this thesis, not least that we are a totally degenerate nation, turned bad by the permissive society or Mrs Thatcher (depending on your point of view).

If the moral judgment is troublesome, so are the economics. While a return to the full-employment consensus of Butskellism is long overdue, the reality is that the fifties was a wasted decade.

True, there was growth and full (male) employment, but there was even stronger growth everywhere else in the West. Britain's comparative economic performance was worse in the 1950s than in any post-war decade, as the precipitous decline in the share of world trade in manufactures shows conclusively. In 1950, a quarter came from British factories; by 1964 the figure had dropped to 14 per cent.

A recent book, *Government versus the Market* (Roger Middleton, Edward Elgar, £75) underlines how poor the

A decade that was culturally barren, authoritarian and suffused with repressed violence

country's performance was at that time. Britain's growth rate was only 58 per cent of the OECD average between 1950 and 1960, compared with 79 per cent between 1960 and 1973, and 85 per cent between 1973 and 1979. Of 16 OECD countries, Britain ranked 16th in the fifties, 13th in the sixties and a creditable 10th in the much-vilified 1970s.

Only part of this can be attributed to catching up by nations devastated by the second world war. The UK had the chance to retool, reinvent and rethink, but through a mixture of complacency and military over-reach it tossed away the opportunity. Harold Wilson was right in 1964 to talk about 13 wasted years; the problem was that his attempt to break out of a low-growth, low-productivity trap came at a cost that was too late.

The sad fact is that Britain lived off its fat during the 1950s. Global reconstruction meant that exporters did not have to try very hard, and they didn't.

Product innovation was poor, investment was sluggish, and far too much research and development was wasted on the military and white elephants such as nuclear power stations. Meanwhile, the Germans, the Japanese and the French were concentrating on washing machines, TVs, cars and cameras: goods that the new generation of consumers actually wanted.

Britain's role as the under-achiever of the West is very much reflected in the popular

culture of the time. In film, the decade started with management and unions conspiring against Alec Guinness's inventor in the Ealing comedy, *The Man in the White Suit*; it ended with Terry Thomas' louche ex-army personnel manager and Peter Sellers' bolshevik trade unionist in *I'm All Right, Jack*.

As with the Government's crowing about its handling of the economy, it is possible to make the fifties look good, but only by British standards and in the light of what has happened subsequently.

Certainly there was no sense, as the sixties dawned, that the fifties had been a golden age. Rather, there was soul-searching as politicians scoured the world for the elixir of faster growth. Again, this should give pause for thought. The one reason the fifties has attained its exalted status is that the economy is seen to have worked: strip that away and you are left with a decade that was culturally barren, socially authoritarian and suffused with repressed violence.

Our images of the fifties are of the Coronation and of the conquest of Everest, but it was also an era in which homosexuality was banned, back-street abortionists flourished, the Lord Chamberlain censored the theatre, women were left to stew at home while the male breadwinner brought in the family wage, racism was rampant and teenage boredom was manifested in teddy-boy violence.

Why not find corporate sponsors for the city's streets, parks and neighbourhoods and rename them? "Look, we need the money; I don't see any difference in us taking money from Coke and renaming the street Coca-Cola Boulevard, and Michael Jordan wearing a Nike hat on the beach."

The proposal was turned down, not so much because the Atlanta Olympic organisers felt there was anything wrong with a Coca-Cola Street or a Pepsi Park. Rather, "it opened up the frightening prospect of 'ambush marketing' by corporate rivals of the official Olympic sponsors", Ruthener says.

Three years on, Atlanta's chief economist may be the same but you would be lucky to find them among the billboards jostling for urban space with 3-D corporate logos and hospitality tents. From the start, Billy Payne, the real estate lawyer who heads the Atlanta Olympic Committee, has added a parenthetical to the city slogan "Come share our dream". It reads: "No white elephants, no public debt." There are almost four times as many corporate sponsors for 1996 Olympics as

Sadly, this is not unthinkable any more. Come the election, Mr Clarke's mini-consumer boom may have created an aura of prosperity in the way that Macmillan's "sandy-bloss summer" of 1959 clawed back Gaitskell's lead during the sluggish year of 1958. But if that is not enough to turn the tide — and it probably won't be — how better to woo back voters than by offering a referendum on the return of that unforgettable symbol of the fifties: the noose?



Corporate ring masters... Georgia Tech provides most of the housing for athletes taking part in the Atlanta Games

Two ways of going for Olympic gold

Barcelona -v- Atlanta contest on Games financing shows Keynes as a clear winner, says ANDY ROBINSON

DURING Atlanta's Olympic preparations, Chuck Ruthener recalls in his new book, *Imagining Atlanta* (Verso), the city council marketing strategy and placed public investment in urban development, sports installations and infrastructural works considered an integral part of the Olympic project. Atlanta includes only \$500 million of building costs in its Olympic budget, all covered privately.

Whereas Barcelona announced proudly that the state would pick up the tab for 70 per cent of the \$5 billion investment in urban development, sports installations and infrastructural works considered an integral part of the Olympic project, Atlanta includes only \$500 million of building costs in its Olympic budget, all covered privately.

The 1996 Games' one lasting "gift to the people of Atlanta", as Mr Payne put it, is the Centennial Olympic public park, built on a 25-acre site previously made up of shacks for the homeless, and small factories.

Well, "park" in the loosest sense of the word. There are a few tufts of grass, a six-storey Coke bottle and a cluster of sponsor tents. Business paid for most of the park, business will do what it wants with it. Nor is the "park" all that "public". There will be restricted entrance during the Games, "to keep out the riff-raff", says the Olympic Committee. Afterwards, Ruthener can envisage only one scenario: middle- and upper-income housing.

In Europe, especially in Spain, where the Maastricht criteria still taste like the bicarbonate after too many heavy meals in 1992, Atlanta

looks like good, American fiscal rectitude. Aesthetically questionable, but can we really afford culture? Spain's budget deficit rose from 4 to 7 per cent of GDP between 1992 and 1993 as the Olympic and Expo '92 bills arrived just as the economy slowed.

That is until you look at the two cities. Take parks and public spaces. Barcelona increased its green areas by 50 per cent under the Olympic urban strategy and placed public parks in 150 neighbourhoods. A sea-view promenade replaced the old docks, and 19 miles of coastline were cleaned up and turned into beaches, generally used by Barcelona's low-income families (the well-off head for the Costa Brava). A ring road was built around the city, which took traffic out of the centre and brought strollers back to the boulevards Paseo de Gracia, Rambla de Catalunya. And not one Kambia de Reebok.

Public investment was crucial, says Oriol Bohigas, the socialist architect known as the council's "enlightened despot". But so were strict controls on how private capital could be spent in the Villa Olimpica, where 2,000 new apartments and twin towers overlook a yacht marina and the new beaches, strict norms on zoning, building density and height enabled the socialist council to keep things more or less under control.

Barcelona's secret does seem to be a combination of Mr Bohigas's aesthetic despotism and the city's first democratic urban plan, drawn up by the socialist council in 1981. The plan created the framework around which public

and private capital was mobilised, as well as public support. Mr Bohigas, an architect who had led the resistance to cheap-skate housing and property sharks under Franco, ensured that the planning and aesthetic norms were not bent too far by business interests or dubious popular tastes.

But there was a big difference compared with Atlanta. In Barcelona, the city mobilised the multinationals around the Games. In Atlanta, things appear to have been the other way around.

The economic consequences of the Barcelona Games were unexpectedly Keynesian. The impact of the public works was about \$21 billion between 1987 and

1992, 0.9 per cent of Spanish GDP, according to the council. The University of Georgia puts the economic impact of Atlanta at \$5 billion. The Barcelona council argued: "It seems likely that the effects of the Olympic Games mitigated the effects of the 1993 recession." The 30 per cent devaluation of the peseta helped, too. Unemployment in the city is 4.5 points below the rate for Spain as a whole.

Ecclin and the European Commission do not like the economics one bit. But the people of Barcelona seem to. The socialists increased their vote and won in Barcelona in the March elections despite being heavily defeated in all the other big Spanish cities. *Andy Robinson is a journalist on Cinco Dias, the Spanish financial daily newspaper*

Indicators

TODAY — US: Business inventories (May).	UK: Unemployment (Jun).
GER: Current account (Apr).	UK: Average earnings (May).
GER: Trade balance (Apr).	JPN: Industrial production (May).
TOMORROW — US: CPI (Jun).	THURSDAY — US: Jobless claims.
US: Industrial production (Jun).	US: Trade balance (May).
US: Real earnings (Jun).	US: Humphrey Hawkins testimony.
FR: GDP (Q1).	GER: M3 (Jun).
UK: PSBR (Jun).	UK: Prov money supply (Jun).
WEDNESDAY — US: Housing starts (Jun).	FRIDAY — JPN: Household consumption (May).

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1.8975	France 7.74	Italy 2.338	Singapore 2.15
Austria 16.13	Germany 2.2950	Malta 0.5490	South Africa 6.56
Belgium 47.21	Greece 363.50	Netherlands 2.58	Spain 192.75
Canada 2.08	Hong Kong 11.73	New Zealand 2.20	Sweden 10.23
Cyprus 0.7045	India 55.07	Norway 9.85	Switzerland 1.8875
Denmark 8.9750	Ireland 0.9450	Portugal 296.50	Turkey 123.888
Finland 7.16	Israel 4.98	Saudi Arabia 5.80	USA 1.52

More is better when it comes to MPs' pay

BRIEFING/In theory, legislators should be paid even more than they believe their jobs are worth. SARAH RYLE explains

PUTTING to one side the moral outrage generated by politicians' self-awarded 26 per cent pay rise (eat out those hearts, train drivers), there is an economic case for the increase.

This has little to do with the rule of supply and demand in its pure form. Britain has more politicians per capita than many of our nearest European neighbours and there is a case for reviewing this situation. If anything, we have a glut of politicians, whose salaries should therefore be reduced, not raised.

The economic argument for paying MPs more than the market-clearing wage is based on the efficiency-wage theory. This boils down to the belief that good workers are hard to come by and once found are worth hanging on to. Conversely, if you pay peanuts then you get monkeys.

The electorate, as can fill the Commons by paying a basic wage of £34,000 because that is what most MPs were earning when they stood for election. It is possible that sufficient political bottoms

could have been found to fill the benches at less than that — say £30,000 — because people become MPs for all sorts of reasons besides the remuneration.

But by paying a wage of £43,000 we could create a

There is a moral hazard as workers put in the least effort which they can get away with

more efficient legislature. We could get more from our representatives by paying them more than they would be prepared to work for.

There are two main reasons for this. The first is to tempt high-quality candidates to do the job and then keep them. The efficiency-wage theory argues that if wages are too low then the most productive workers will take their talents elsewhere.

hazard in any job as each worker is theoretically tempted to put as little effort in as he or she can get away with. If being "caught slack-jawed" and so being sacked from a party post or losing an election means an MP stands to lose more money than he or she could earn in another job, there is an incentive to work hard.

If this holds good for MPs, however, then it also applies to other public servants such as teachers, who earn an average £18,375 a year after five years' service. The Government has expressed concern about teaching standards, so it ought to back an efficiency wage for them. Nurses, too, would benefit because fewer would be tempted out of the NHS and into private work. There is also a supply and demand case — which does not apply to MPs — for boosting these workers' wages, particularly in the case of nurses.

It is not surprising that these groups are enraged by what they view as the hypocrisy of politicians voting themselves a massive pay rise while capping others' at 3 per cent. MPs will not have to find any of their pay rise from efficiency savings or have it linked to productivity gains. But, aside from the moral argument, the economic case for a consistent approach is strong.

If only all forecasters were this accurate...

BOB EGERTON, a businessman based in Plymouth, has won the Economics Page forecasting competition for the second time. His first victory was in 1992 — and he used the prize champagne to celebrate another important event that year: his marriage. Then, Mr Egerton's anticipation of sterling's devaluation in 1992 after Black Wednesday was uniquely canny among entrants, gaining him critical extra points.

In winning the 1995 competition, it was pessimism about UK economic growth that boosted his score. He got full marks for forecasting GDP growth in 1995 of 2.5 per cent. He was also very close in his estimates for four of the remaining five economic indicators which made up the



Financial editor Alex Brummer gives Bob Egerton the prize competition, but admitted himself that his guess for base lending rates at the end of 1995 was a wild one at 10 per cent compared to the actual level of 6.5 per cent. The remaining correct answers were: seasonally adjusted unemployment in December (2,340,000); underlying inflation in the fourth quarter (3.8 per cent); current account deficit for 1995 (£6.7 billion) and the sterling/mark exchange rate on December 31, 1995 (2.22).

Married to the mob market

Worm's eye Dan Atkinson

HILARIOUS-sounding American threats last week to arrest British and Canadian businessmen for the heinous crime of trading with Cuba ought to surprise no one who has observed Brother Yank's recent excursions into what may be termed "regulatory imperialism". With two thirds of world trade in dollars and 99 per cent of dollar deals clearing through New York, our transatlantic friends have taken it upon themselves to supervise most of the world's business. Of course, the Cuba em-

bargo is a special case, its force a tribute to the enduring power of organised crime. The "confiscated assets" were mainly owned by gangsters and mafiosi from the US mainland.

Should anyone feel that perhaps Castro is a bit of a swine, they ought to bear in mind his great achievement in shutting down the mob's very own client state.

Elsewhere, the bid to become world financial regulator is prosecuted by intelligence officers, under-employed since the cold war's end, and by business interests keen to ensure the deregulated global market is not so deregulated as to threaten their own position.

Washington to push off. But Britain itself is hardly immune to the temptations of carving out a world-policing role for itself. Last week's report from the Serious Fraud Office, for example, listed 21 investigations in progress here, using draconian talk-or-else powers. These powers were justified on the grounds that fraud had become a national emergency. Now, we claim jurisdiction over any fraud happening to pass through London. In other words, we may not be able to keep order on our council estates, but can stamp out money-laundering on the Cook Islands. This frenetic Batman and Robin activity would be amusing were the civil liberties' implications not so serious.

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INSTRUMENTS FOR PROFESSIONALS

12 SPORT/RACING

Weld proves master of Irish classics

Lady Carla flops behind Dance Design in Irish Oaks. Graham Rock reports

LADY CARLA, runaway winner of the Epsom Oaks, finished a tame fourth behind Dance Design in the Kildangan Stud Irish Oaks at The Curragh yesterday. The 9-2 winner gave Dermot Weld, who trains close to the course, a double in the Irish middle-distance Classics, following his success with Zagreb in the two-mile Derby a fortnight ago. Pat Eddery set out to make the running on the 2-1 on favourite Lady Carla, who seemed to be going easily in the lead until the field approached the straight, where she was immediately challenged by Key Change. Passing the two-furlong marker both Shamadara, whom Gerard Mosses had in third place, and Dance Design, held by Mick Kinane towards the rear, improved to challenge. Lady Carla was the first to weaken, quickly followed by Key Change, and in a desperate battle to the line Kinane proved stronger than Mosses and forced his filly to the front at the post to win by a short head. Key Change finished two lengths behind in third, with Lady Carla two and a half away. The start of the race, inquiry into possible interference between the first two inside the final furlong, but the result was swiftly confirmed. Despite a long-standing association with Weld, Kinane had rejected Zagreb in favour of Dr Massini in the Irish Derby, and this success



Two line whip... the victorious Mick Kinane and Dance Design (right) battle out the Irish Oaks with Gerard Mosses and Shamadara

Stakes. "He wore blinkers to help him concentrate," explained Savill. "We will probably step him up a furlong to try in the Richmond Stakes." Peter Chapple-Hyam had a miserable day. Camperdown was a late withdrawal for the

interfered with the Clive Brittain runner, Acharnae, who came third. Desert Boy had won by half a length from André Fabre's Redevore, who was awarded the race. Acharnae promoted to second. Prize Giving

finished fourth and the Fabre-trained favourite, Night Watch, fifth. Chapple-Hyam was bitterly disappointed, saying: "The best horse finished first, didn't he? If my jockey had given him a good beating in

Cigar equals Citation record

CIGAR equalled Citation's modern American record of 16 straight wins in his usual blockbusting style in the nine-furlong Arlington Citation Challenge in Chicago on Saturday. Despite having to race wide and losing ground going into the first turn, Jerry Bailey's mount rallied from seventh to lead at the top of the straight, going on to three and a half lengths victory over Dramatic Gold, with Eitish, the former Henry Cecil runner, a neck away third. Cigar — whose winning streak started in October, 1994, and has taken in nine different tracks and two different hemispheres — also reached another American record by taking his career earnings to \$8,810,818, and will attempt to stretch his sequence to a record 17 in the Pacific Classic at Del Mar on August 10. Owned by Allen Paulson and trained by Jerry Bailey, Cigar carried 115 lb — 6 lb more than any of his opponents. Bailey landed his mount by saying: "He worked through the stretch and fought off a nice horse. Conceding that much weight, it was a spectacular effort." Bailey said: "It all goes well in the Pacific Classic, then maybe a couple of races in New York before the Breeders' Cup. We would like to be the first to win back-to-back Breeders' Cup Classics." Little wonder that he has been hailed as the saviour for the flagging American racing industry.

Ayr card with form guide

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details (time, distance, conditions). Includes races like 2.15 Canadian Fantasy, 2.45 Plover Post Profit, 2.15 Quilting, 2.15 Daily Record Handicap, 3.15 Daily Record Handicap, 3.15 Daily Record Handicap.

Windsor evening programme

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details (time, distance, conditions). Includes races like 5.30 Dromedary, 5.30 Dromedary, 5.30 Dromedary, 5.30 Dromedary, 5.30 Dromedary.

Wolverhampton (all-weather) tonight

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details (time, distance, conditions). Includes races like 6.45 Doyline, 7.15 Lee Alston, 7.45 Southbury, 6.45 Doyline, 7.15 Lee Alston, 7.45 Southbury.

Folkestone runners and riders

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details (time, distance, conditions). Includes races like 2.00 Swingers, 2.00 Swingers, 2.00 Swingers, 2.00 Swingers, 2.00 Swingers.

Wolverhampton (all-weather) tonight

Table with 2 columns: Race number and details (time, distance, conditions). Includes races like 6.45 Doyline, 7.15 Lee Alston, 7.45 Southbury, 6.45 Doyline, 7.15 Lee Alston, 7.45 Southbury.

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Handwritten signature or note at the bottom left of the page.

Advertisement for 'The Guardian' newspaper, featuring the headline 'Aus on t with of in' and a large image of a person's face.

Advertisement for 'RACELINE' featuring a horse and jockey, with text '0930 168+' and 'COMMENTARY'.

More money for Tregaron

TREGARON has been the subject of further heavy support for the Schweppes Golden Mile at Goodwood on August 1. Reg Akehurst's five-year-old is now 5-1 chance favourite from 7-1 for the £75,000 handicap with Ladbrokes, who have also clipped Alumnium a point to 7-1 second favourite. Ladbrokes' Golden Mile betting: 5-1 Tregaron, 7-1 Alumnium, 11-1 Bantable, 14-1 North Sea, Missile, Gold Spots, Poling, & Strazy, 16-1 Crumpton Hill, Bend Wavy, Tertium, Hidden Oasis and How Low: 20-1 bar. Two jockeys died in Australia over the weekend after

B&H Cup final

Austin puts on the brake with a touch of innuendo

Mike Selvey at Lord's

LANCASHIRE retained the Benson and Hedges Cup here because they had the nous and nerve to survive what became a frenetic game that swayed this way and that like a Saturday-night drunk. There is, after all, no substitute for experience.

It was, as the Lancashire captain Mike Watkinson said afterwards, an all-round team performance on a cracking new pitch — one that will be used for the Test next year — in a match that lacked a definitive performance with the bat and where any number of promising partnerships failed to come to fruition.

From it all, though, Graham Gooch and his match-adjudication panel found a Gold Award winner. Simon Ian Austin in half and there would be Lancashire written through him like a stick of rock. He is a burly, jaunty but slightly dumpy fellow with the rolling gait and ruddy complexion of a stoker on a merchant steamer. His neck goes straight up the back of his hat, too. All in all he makes for an unlikely hero.

This is a good cricketer, though, good enough, were it not for the rigorous fielding demands of the international one-day game, to be a contender for England. He bounces in like a beach ball along the sands at Southport and bowls a decent, honest-to-goodness medium pace with no outward menace but full of innuendo.

Probing and plugging away, Austin's bats are skinned by means other than pace. Then put a bat in his hand and he hits with vigorous left-handedness and enough skill to be capable of a century.

Saturday was his day and to him fell the honour of concluding the match, when he beat Tony Penberthy's last-ditch heave and rearranged his furniture. It was his fourth wicket, the second of a spell that sealed the match, and he had conceded only 21 runs — exemplary stuff on such a good pitch.

But his best work was done at the start of the Northamptonshire innings when they set off in pursuit of 246, a tantalising target betwixt and between a stroll and the unassailable.

From the bowlers it required a cool head and the capacity to cope with the World Cup-style fielding restrictions. Austin responded wonderfully well, having David Capel caught at the wicket and bowling Alan Fordham off the under-edge inside his first four overs, eventually completing a seven-over spell that cost a measly seven runs. The damage was done.

Had Northamptonshire got off to a flier, the momentum would possibly have carried them to victory. Instead they were always under pressure to catch up. They tried, first

of all with a third-wicket stand of 87 between Rob Bailey, who knuckled down faithfully to make 36, and Richard Montgomerie (42), who launched his own counter-attack by riling Glen Chappell three times through mid-wicket in his first over. Later the sixth wicket added 52, Kevin Curran, living life on the wire, contributing 35 and Tim Walton 28.

But, though there were signs that the pressure was beginning to tell on Lancashire, Watkinson never relinquished control. "We knew that, if we bowled well, then our total was perfectly defensible," he said. But he also knew that, having won the toss and batted, his side missed the chance to post a total that would have put the game out of Northamptonshire's reach.

Lancashire were stifled by Curry Ambrose at the start and he ripped out his first five overs for three runs. Then John Emburey, whose haircut now resembles an Edgbaston Test pitch, slotted into his old armchair at the Pavilion End and peeled off his 10 overs for 39.

The Lancashire innings was given momentum, as it so often is, by Neil Fairbrother, who clumped the ball with gusto, scampered his runs and made 63 from 70 balls before he changed Capel and was bowled.

At the award ceremony Bob Willis, a master of ceremonies straight from the undercard at the York Hall in Bethnal Green, referred to him as the "Manic Midget".

It was, apparently, a new sobriquet. Willis will be spending some time in the High Court this week as a witness in the Ian Botham-Alan Lamb-Imran Khan libel case. If Fairbrother's look could have sued, the former England captain would be advised to take out a season ticket there.

Scoreboard

Lancashire		Salley & Emburey	
M Watkinson	42	D J Capel	0
R Montgomerie	42	A Fordham	4
G Chappell	35	R H Montgomerie	4
K Curran	35	M M Curran	4
T Walton	28	T C Walton	4
R Bailey	36	C E Lamb	10
J Emburey	39	S I Austin	10
S I Austin	63	D J Capel	0
N Fairbrother	0	A Fordham	4
D J Capel	0	R H Montgomerie	4
A Fordham	4	M M Curran	4
R H Montgomerie	4	T C Walton	4
M M Curran	4	C E Lamb	10
T C Walton	4	S I Austin	10
C E Lamb	10	D J Capel	0
S I Austin	10	A Fordham	4
D J Capel	0	R H Montgomerie	4
A Fordham	4	M M Curran	4
R H Montgomerie	4	T C Walton	4
M M Curran	4	C E Lamb	10
T C Walton	4	S I Austin	10
C E Lamb	10	D J Capel	0
S I Austin	10	A Fordham	4
D J Capel	0	R H Montgomerie	4
A Fordham	4	M M Curran	4
R H Montgomerie	4	T C Walton	4
M M Curran	4	C E Lamb	10
T C Walton	4	S I Austin	10
C E Lamb	10	D J Capel	0
S I Austin	10	A Fordham	4
D J Capel	0	R H Montgomerie	4
A Fordham	4	M M Curran	4
R H Montgomerie	4	T C Walton	4
M M Curran	4	C E Lamb	10
T C Walton	4	S I Austin	10
C E Lamb	10	D J Capel	0
S I Austin	10	A Fordham	4
D J Capel	0	R H Montgomerie	4
A Fordham	4	M M Curran	4
R H Montgomerie	4	T C Walton	4
M M Curran	4	C E Lamb	10
T C Walton	4	S I Austin	10
C E Lamb	10	D J Capel	0
S I Austin	10	A Fordham	4
D J Capel	0	R H Montgomerie	4
A Fordham	4	M M Curran	4
R H Montgomerie	4	T C Walton	4
M M Curran	4	C E Lamb	10
T C Walton	4	S I Austin	10
C E Lamb	10	D J Capel	0
S I Austin	10	A Fordham	4
D J Capel	0	R H Montgomerie	4
A Fordham	4	M M Curran	4
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M M Curran	4	C E Lamb	10
T C Walton	4	S I Austin	10
C E Lamb	10	D J Capel	0
S I Austin	10	A Fordham	4
D J Capel	0	R H Montgomerie	4
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R H Montgomerie	4	T C Walton	4
M M Curran	4	C E Lamb	10
T C Walton	4	S I Austin	10
C E Lamb	10	D J Capel	0
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14 SPORT/GRAND PRIX/RUGBY



Golden touch... a delighted Jacques Villeneuve shows off the trophy after his unexpected victory



Scarlet-faced... Michael Schumacher limps back to the Ferrari pit only a matter of minutes after leaving it to take up third-place on the grid

Villeneuve victory keeps Hill within his reach

Richard Williams at the British Grand Prix... TONY BLAIR needed a reminder not to count his votes before they are cast, and then to wait for a recount, he was given one at Silverstone yesterday. The Labour leader had stood by Damon Hill's car on the grid but then watched Jacques Villeneuve trump his team-mate at the start and pull out a winning lead before Hill, the overwhelming pre-race favourite, retired before half-distance, spinning off when a front wheel nut worked loose. Villeneuve, taking his second victory of the season, reduced his English team-mate's lead in the world championship drivers' standings to 15 points, with six races to run. In second place, 19 seconds behind Villeneuve's Williams-Renault, came Gerhard Berger in a Benetton-Renault, with Mika Hakkinen's McLaren-Mercedes a further half-minute back in third. For both men the race represented a welcome upturn in a dismal season, while the two Jordan Peugeot drivers, Rubens Barrichello and Martin Brundle, were happy with fourth and sixth respectively, sandwiching David Coulthard's McLaren.

Twickenham moves to save England's Five Nations place

Players threaten to form rebel side in new tournament as Wales, Ireland, Scotland and France go it alone

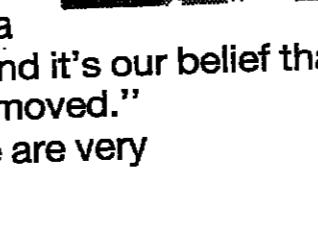
Robert Armstrong... ENGLAND will hold 11th-hour talks with BSkyB and members of the Five Nations Committee this week in an attempt to reverse the decision by the other home unions to exclude from the Five Nations Championship. Meanwhile, some leading England players are considering forming a non-Rugby Football Union England team to take part in the championship should the impasse with Wales, Scotland, Ireland and France not be overcome. John Richardson, the RFU's new president, and his immediate predecessor Bill Bishop, who took part in peace talks with the Welsh Rugby Union president Sir Tasker Watkins last week, were among several senior RFU officers who yesterday refuted the home unions' claim that England had prior knowledge of the ban. An RFU working group on TV rights that includes the secretary Tony Hallett and

selecting another international side. Without any disrespect, I don't think the championship would be up to standard were England to be replaced by say Italy or Spain. Colin Hurreidge, a member of the RFU executive committee who helped negotiate the BSkyB deal, claimed that the Five Nations Championship had never been sold to television as a tournament in its entirety. "I am surprised the decision to exclude us was sought by the others across the board in view of the fact that France have always negotiated their own TV agreement," he pointed out. "In any case Bill Bishop, who is regarded by our new president as a valuable team member, will continue his discussions with Sir Tasker Watkins with a view to achieving an amicable solution. England have never intended to destroy the Five Nations and uppermost in our minds will be our desire to get back into the competition. Isolation does not benefit any of our unions and I still believe the other home unions can do much better financially than ever before." However, Tom Kiernan, chairman of the Five Nations Committee, said he had warned the RFU on a number of occasions of serious consequences if it decided to go it

alone and negotiate its own TV deal. "I have been disappointed with the English stance for the last couple of months, as indeed have my colleagues on the other unions. One felt there might be a reconsideration at the RFU annual meeting, but it was not to be. "I hold no bitterness whatsoever but I am saddened because it is a terrific competition. We must now look to the future. Kiernan kept the door open, though, for peace talks. Responding to Richardson's statement, he said last night: "If England's new president, and any other officials, want to talk at any time we will be there. Kiernan, who revealed that the decision to break away was made in Paris last Wednesday, also gave details of how the new tournament would be set up without England. Games involving Wales, Scotland, Ireland and France would be played on a home-and-away basis between January and May in each season as part of an agreement that would operate for the next 10 years. "None of the four unions will play England during January 1 and the end of that or any subsequent season," said Kiernan. "Should France decide to play England during any other part of the season that will not be as part of any competition, championship or challenge." Bishop said he was "mystified" by the home unions' decision. "Obviously they have met on their own without our knowledge or invitation. They have excluded us even though we have a contract with them [with the BBC] and we have another year to run on that contract. If we are talking about next season, then they are breaking the existing contract." Nevertheless Syd Millar, the Irish RFU president, insisted that any TV deal involving the Five Nations would be negotiated through the committee. He revealed: "Some weeks ago the presidents of the four home unions met and agreed unanimously that the RFU's action was not acceptable and that the negotiation and sale of TV rights to the Five Nations Championship was a matter for the Five Nations Committee." Richardson firmly rejected the suggestion that England had been told they would be thrown out of the championship before the end of last week. "The statement was agreed by a number of senior RFU officers, including the executive committee chairman Cliff Brittle, who said earlier that he was opposed to the Sky TV deal and had not consulted when it was signed.

Fighting talk

June 10 Tony Hallett, RFU secretary: "Time in a sense is on our side because there's a cooling-off period of a year. We've sought a legal opinion and it's our belief that we can't be removed." July 14: "We are very disappointed" Tom Kiernan, the former Ireland captain and Lions full-back, who is chairman of the Five Nations Committee: "I hold no bitterness whatsoever but I'm saddened." Alan Hossie, Scottish Five Nations representative: "We were most disappointed... consequently we had no alternative but to exclude England."



Broadcasters wait for dust to settle over rugby prize

Andrew Cuff Media Correspondent... THE viability of a Five Nations Championship without England was being considered by broadcasters yesterday. The Five Nations had become one of the top prizes in television sport. When Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB signed a five-year deal with England for £87.5 million last month it was in the confident expectation it would force the other home nations to sign up too. But the weekend move leaves the satellite station with a contract that may be meaningless — and the BBC with an existing deal that may not be honoured. The BBC's exclusive contract for the Five Nations ran for three years from 1994 until the end of the 1997 season and it could be in a position to take legal action if it is not fulfilled. However, insiders were suggesting the BBC might not be too dismayed by the turn of events. There was a belief in England might back-track, with a new television deal being negotiated involving both satellite and terrestrial stations and all four of the home nations. A four-nation championship would not have the audience pulling-power of the Five Nations because England attract by far the highest viewing figures. Sky calculated Scotland, Ireland and Wales were worth just half the amount they get under the BBC contract. Sky last night reaffirmed that their deal with Twickenham stands. A spokesman said: "We are going to stand by the RFU. There is no question that Sky is not going to stand by the deal that was agreed last month. The agreement with the RFU is not dependent on England being in the Five Nations, although it would clearly be in everyone's interests for the Five Nations to continue with England."

All black day for the 'Voice of Rugby'

Ian Malin... THE "Voice of Rugby" sounded a little choked yesterday. Bill McLaren has been commenting on the Five Nations Championship since the Wales-Scotland game at Cardiff in 1953. He is contracted to work for the BBC until its current television deal runs out in spring. "I just hope I'm not commenting on the Four Nations next year," he said from his home in Hawick. "This is the saddest thing on earth," says McLaren. "I'd like to think England will relent — perhaps by giving Scotland £60 million of that

satellite money." The doyen of the Scottish game was joking but in a very serious mood. "Of course we knew this breakthrough by the smaller nations might happen, but it was still distressing to read those headlines this morning. The Five Nations is the greatest rugby competition in the world and the Tri-Nations in the Southern Hemisphere is now trying to emulate it. The Southern Hemisphere may criticise the type of rugby played in the competition but it has a special aura which is why countries like Romania and Italy want to be a part of it. "There is a buzz come January and for the likes of Scotland, who achieve short bursts of success, as in 1984

and 1990, it is special. I've just come back with Scotland from New Zealand where the play of the All Blacks in the first Test in Dunedin was mind-boggling. "Both Scotland and Wales, who have been to Australia, were hoping to bring some of the risk-taking, fast-paced rugby to the Five Nations next year. England, who have got the powerful forwards to provide the ball and the backs to run it are in a position to play it now. It would be tragic if they weren't allowed to play any of their traditional opponents next year. McLaren clearly blames England for the current impasse and thinks solutions can save the tournament that has been the shop-window for the European game for over a century. "Any change has to be negotiated and, with the Scots and the Irish, this affair has now become a matter of principle. But England are the team to beat and the Scots and Irish need to take them on every season. Now the Celts are taking on England just as enthusiastically as the smoke-filled rooms as on the pitch, a bit of "argybargy" that could silence the Borders brogue of McLaren for good unless the brinkmanship ends soon. Winter afterwards watching Grandstand would never be the same.

Eagles win in late rush after Leeds revive in vain

LEEDS came, saw and almost conquered at Bramall Lane last night before subsiding to a 34-31 defeat to Sheffield, writes Don Bee. Eagles, 18-0 ahead at half-time, were rocked by six tries that put Leeds in front but Sheffield came again to snatch victory. Tries from Danny McAllister, Darren Turner and Lynner Stott put Eagles well clear before the Leeds burst, begun by Sotaki Tupulotu, was interrupted only by a Jean-Marc Garcia touchdown for the home side. Scores by Gary Mercer and Marvin Golden gave Leeds the edge and, when David Hulme touched down four minutes later, the game was slipping away from Sheffield. Then, however, Keith Senior charged over for a try converted by Aston. Stott grabbed his second try and Aston was on target again with his kick to leave Leeds deeper in trouble. Castleford also staged a rally — this time a winning one. They won 30-29 at Oldham after trailing 16-4 and their five second-half tries halted the home side's march towards a top-four place. Oldham scored first-half tries through Howard Hill, Scott Ranson and Paul Atchison but the visitors cut their lead when Tony Smith sped in off a Lee Crooks pass. Simon Middleton then picked up a stray pass to race 50 yards for the corner but Oldham looked safe when Martin Crompton squared over to put them 20-12 ahead. Late tries from Adrian Flynn, Chris Smith and Junior Paramore turned the game. Workington look even firmer favourites for the drop after Warrington enjoyed a nine-try romp in Cumbria, winning 49-4. Warrington dominated from the start with four first-half converted tries, the first coming after only two minutes from Jonathan Roper. He raced away from slack marking, as did Chris Rudd five minutes later. Rudd's second came five minutes after that when he collected an "up-and-under" pass from Iestyn Harris, who improved all three and Mark Forster's last try of the half just before the half-hour. Town had managed a consolation try after 17 minutes through John Allen but the rest was all wire.

Rugby League Super League: St Helens 58, Halifax 20

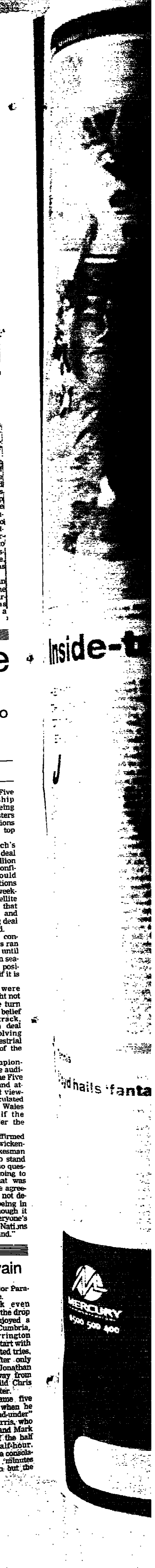
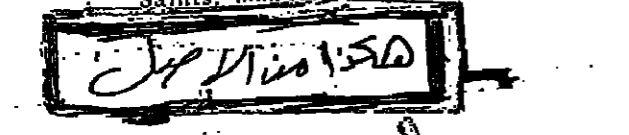
Cunningham treble sends Saints soaring

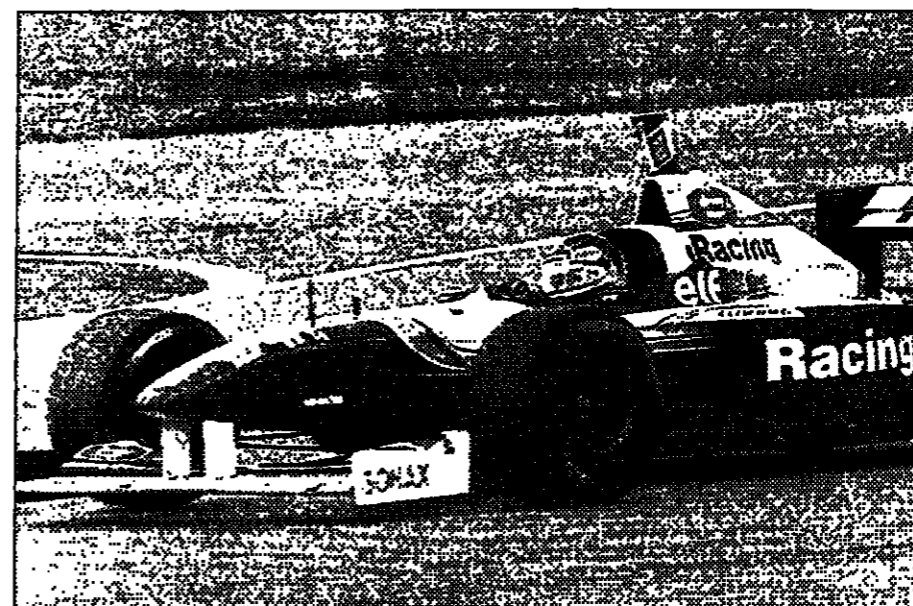
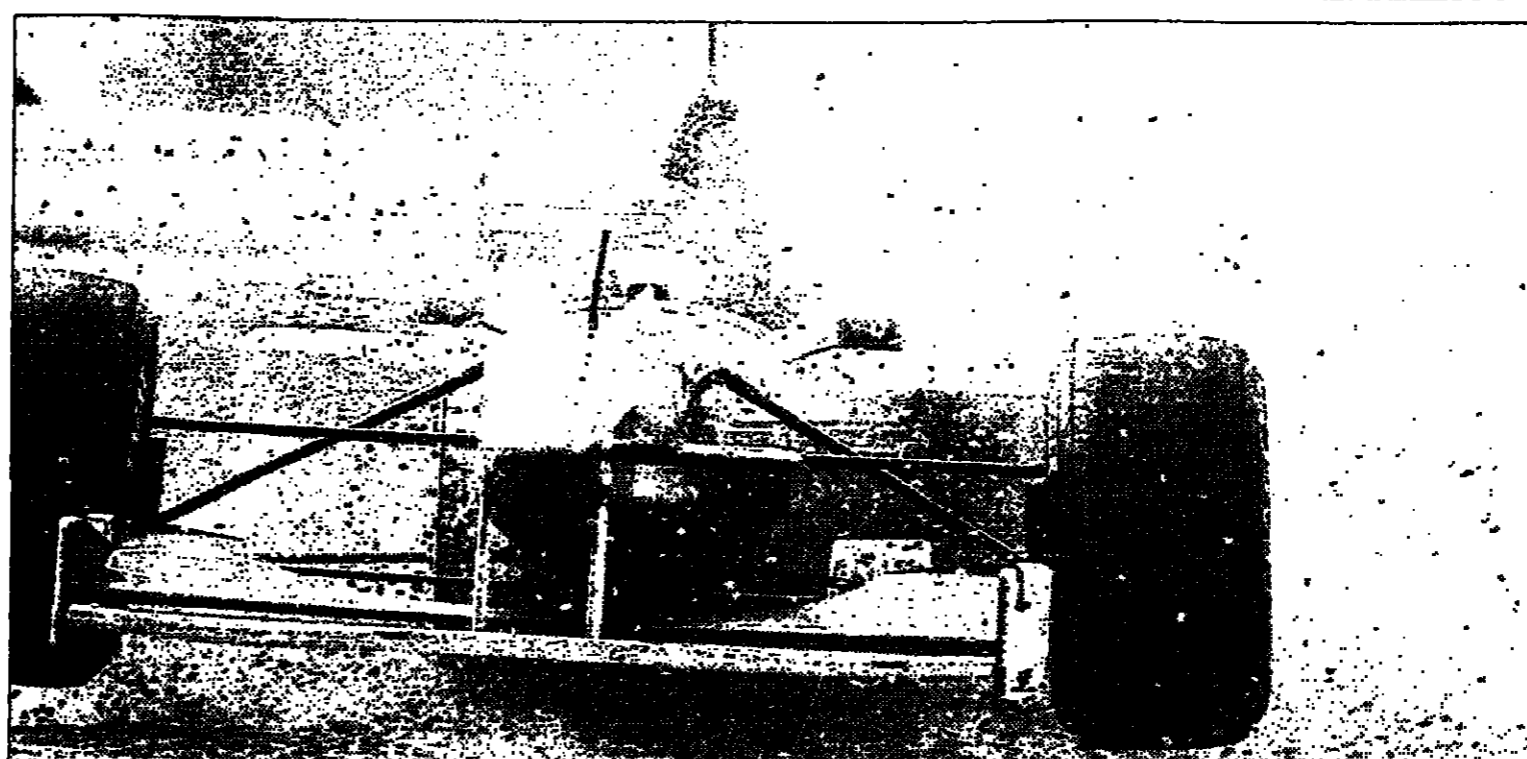
Andy Wilson... KEIRON Cunningham ensured that St Helens capitalised on Wigan's shock defeat on Friday with an opportunistic hat-trick that left Halifax with their Blue Sox around their ankles. The 16-year-old Welsh international hooker ran less than 10 yards in total for his three tries but produced another outstanding all-round display. Saints, boosted by the return of Hunte, Chris Joynt and Bobbie Goulding, made a whirlwind start, scoring two tries in the first 10 minutes. Hammond and Newlove had opened up Halifax on the left. Then Tullagi lost the ball in his own quarter and Cunningham squeezed over from dummy half. Halifax chipped two points back with a Schuster penalty but promptly lost Perrett with a shoulder injury. Halifax scored next, Bentley earning a penalty near the Saints line then showing strength, neat footwork and a long arm to touch down in the right corner. Schuster converted to reduce the deficit to two points. Cunningham pinched his second try after Perrett released the ball in a multiple tackle on the Halifax line and Joynt took Saints 14 points clear at half-time with a powerful solo effort. Two more superb individual tries took them virtually out of sight at 32-3 within nine minutes of the restart. First Newlove showed his power in an unstoppable dummy-half run and then Goulding stepped inside to Amone to score. Halifax's cause grew even more hopeless when Moana was sent off for a high tackle on Arnold after a bewildering handling move featuring an overhead flick by Goulding. Saints exploited gaps in a 12-man defence for Hunte to charge over on the right. Halifax salvaged respectability with tries from Schuster and a cracker from Hallas, while Schuster took his goals tally to four from four. But Cunningham set up Hunte and then scored his third try, also from dummy half, in the space of five minutes and Hayes and Hammond added further tries as Saints passed 50. St Helens Prospects, Arnold, Manu, Newlove, Hayes, Hammond, Goulding, Perrett, Cunningham, Fogarty, Stott, Tullagi, Marley, Substitutes: Maugh, Macaulay, Norbury, Peckavince, Walters, Amos, Bentley, Schuster, Hunte, Roper, Chiswick, Dick, Hetherington, Rowley, Perrett, Gilchrist, St Jackson, Moana, Substitutes: Llewellyn, Hallas, Harrison, Bidduw. Referee: S. Preshy (Castleford)

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Anatomy of a grand prix... Damon Hill, top, spins out of contention seconds after complaining to his pit about problems with a wheel-bearing; his team-mate Jacques Villeneuve, below, cruises to a second grand-prix victory in what is his first season in Formula One; a disconsolate Michael Schumacher, bottom centre, talks to the press after his Ferrari's second embarrassing failure in successive races; and Hill, left, sets out on the long walk back to the Williams pit

Inside-track manoeuvres for the pole positions

Alan Henry on the uncertainty driving the pit-lane rumour mill

JACQUES Villeneuve's flawless performance laid to rest more than a month of speculation that Williams-Renault were on the verge of replacing the Canadian driver next season, despite the fact that he has a two-year contract with them. It is a measure of the uncertainty of Formula One that some observers regard contracts as trivial matters. Unfortunately the sceptics seem to have wrongly interpreted Frank Williams's silence as a tacit acknowledgement that the IndyCar champion has been a disappointment and not up to the mark demanded by such a top team.

But Williams remains non-committal about contractual matters. "I never discuss details of driver contracts," he repeated wearily over the weekend. Privately, however, he expressed bewilderment that anybody seriously doubted that Williams would see out its commitment with Villeneuve.

By contrast Villeneuve was rather less diplomatic in his comments. He briskly dis-

missed media reports on the subject of his possible departure from Williams as "rubbish", adding: "I know where I'm staying next year and that's all that counts. One person starts a rumour and then everybody's writing it. My contract is concrete."

Much of this frenzied gossip can be attributed to the speculation concerning possible engine supply deals for the Williams and Benetton teams beyond the end of 1997 when Renault withdraws from F1.

Such a shift in grand prix racing's balance of power has left many drivers trying to second-guess how to position themselves in the right place at the right time.

With this in mind it is no secret that Heinz-Harald Frentzen now feels it is time to move on to a fresh challenge after three years with the Sauber team. He has also been approached by the Jordan team, who are anxious to secure a top driver for 1997 in a bid to convince Peugeot, their engine suppliers, that it is worth continuing the partnership into 1998.

Elsewhere Mika Hakkinen's name has been linked with the Benetton team although the Finn has hinted that he is most likely to accept an invitation to remain with McLaren-Mercedes in 1997. At Tyrrell Ukyo Katayama's contract expires at the

Silverstone

British Grand Prix 1996

The result:

- 1 J Villeneuve (Canada) Williams
- 2 G Berger (Australia) Benetton
- 3 M Hakkinen (Finland) McLaren
- 4 R Barrichello (Brazil) Jordan
- 5 D Coulthard (GB) McLaren
- 6 M Brundle (GB) Jordan
- 7 M Salo (Finland) Tyrrell
- 8 H-H Frentzen (Germany) Sauber
- 9 J Harburt (GB) Sauber
- 10 J Verstappen (Netherlands) Footwork
- 11 G Fittipaldi (Italy) Minardi



Where they went out

- 12 J Alesi (France) Benetton 44 laps
- 13 O Panis (France) Ligier 40 laps
- 14 P Dini (Brazil) Ligier 38 laps
- 15 D Hill (GB) Williams 26 laps
- 16 P Lamy (Portugal) Minardi 21 laps
- 17 R Rosset (Brazil) Footwork 13 laps
- 18 U Katajima (Japan) Tyrrell 12 laps
- 19 E Irvine (GB) Ferrari 5 laps
- 20 M Schumacher (Germany) Ferrari 3 laps

end of 1996 but Mika Salo will be staying with the team for 1997, the third season of his present contract.

As for Damon Hill, Frank Williams was not being drawn on the subject of whether or not he would be staying. "I got a lot of press cuttings on my desk yesterday morning, all saying the same things," he said. "I thought 'Damon is sending me a message'. But the press cuttings fall off the desk into the rubbish bin, as they always do. I can make no comment whether he will or will

not be with us next year. I simply don't know."

However, the wildest rumour of all was that Ferrari's sporting director Jean Todt was on the point of leaving the Italian team and taking Michael Schumacher with him. The gossip suggested that at least one team in the paddock was prepared to write a generous cheque to fund such a transfer and most people concluded the only one with such an obvious interest was McLaren-Mercedes. McLaren's boss Ron Dennis shrugged aside such specula-

tion, as did a Mercedes spokesman. But it must be a tempting proposition.

With Hakkinen having qualified the better-placed McLaren only 0.9sec away from Hill in pole position, the conclusion seems logical. But Schumacher in a McLaren-Mercedes and he would be the quickest. It must be a tempting prospect for the German, even though his manager Willy Weber confirmed that he had a rock-solid contract with Ferrari to the end of next season. Beyond that point all bets are off.

Manufacturers' marque time with boys from the brown stuff

Mark Redding at Silverstone

AFTER the champagne supernovas of Formula One came the latest upwardly mobile sport. The evidence: more than three million people tune in to the BBC's coverage, which is expanding to fill the gap that will be left by the loss of the Formula One contract to ITV next year; the reigning champion John Cleland earns a stockbroker-size salary of £100,000-plus; and Frank Biela, the ice-cool German leading this season's standings, commutes to races from his flat in Monaco.

The manufacturers, acutely aware of the importance of winning in the 1990s, are

turning to F1 expertise to help them make their marque Renault are reliant on Williams, BMW on McLaren and Volvo on TWR. The brains behind Ligier and Arrows.

The appeal of the sport is simple. Give or take a stripped metal interior, a roll-bar and a two-litre engine capable of 800 horsepower — almost three times that of a road-going model — these are the cars the punters drove here in their tens of thousands: Vauxhalls, Volvos, BMWs, Renaults, Hondas and Peugeots.

That close identification with marques by the man in the street, though, can be a two-edged sword. Cleland won his title in a Vauxhall Cavalier but this season switched to a Vectra, which underwhelmed the motoring press when the road-going version was launched. It has not enhanced its reputation by winning only one race, and that in the hands of the team's second driver.

With Cleland languishing in the standings and only five more events to go, the Scot could be said to be driving in the Last Chance saloon. Each event features two 15-lap races and in the 15th round on Saturday Cleland could manage only another disappointing placing, 10th.

The race was won by Italy's

Roberto Ravaglia in a BMW ahead of Sweden's Rickard Rydell in a Volvo. Biela, who has stolen Cleland's days of thunder this year, was third in a four-wheel-drive Audi to consolidate his healthy lead in the championship.

To help maintain the exciting nip-and-tuck racing that is the BTCC's stock-in-trade, the successful cars are handicapped by weight penalties. After four wins, including the opening three races, Biela's Audi now carries an extra 66lb. "It was definitely a little bit slower than the others down the straight," the German said on Saturday, lighting a cigarette.

Yesterday, a bumper-to-bumper thriller saw Biela fight off Ravaglia to finish second behind David Leslie's Honda Accord, which had started from pole in both races. Leslie, a Scot, at least gave the Union Jack wavers in the crowd something to cheer with his first win of the season; Cleland had drifted into the pits after brushing John Bintcliffe's Audi.

Biela increased his standings lead to 55 points — a win earns 15 points — from Switzerland's Alain Menu in the Williams Renault. "It's still too early and dangerous to talk about a championship. We have to fight to get points but the main thing is, we're on the podium," he said.

Tennis

Lloyd hails 'fantastic job' as GB set up Davis Cup promotion tie

TIM HENMAN and Luke Milligan completed the formalities of Great Britain's Davis Cup victory over Ghana with smooth displays in yesterday's reverse singles, matches that became exhibition three-set affairs after the previous day's decisive doubles win by Neil Broad and Mark Petchey, writes Chris Curtin.

The world No. 39 Henman suffered a minor embarrassment against the unranked Daniel Ombao before set-

ting up a gear to prevail 6-3, 4-6, 6-0, but the teenaged Milligan rounded off his splendid debut in testing conditions in Accra with a 6-4, 6-3 win over Isaac Donkor.

Victory in the promotion rubber against Egypt in September, probably at Eastbourne, would see Britain back in Euro-Africa group one on the strength of a four-time unbeaten run. Egypt yesterday clinched victory in their group match against Ivory Coast in Cairo thanks

to a second straight-sets singles win by Tamer el-Sawi, a name that will no doubt soon become more familiar to the British Davis Cup captain David Lloyd.

Lloyd was full of praise for his squad after Broad and Petchey had killed off the tie by beating Donkor and Frank Ofori — the home singles players obliged to double up on Saturday in one last desperate throw of the dice — by 6-1, 6-4, 6-1.

"This could have been a

very difficult tie in this sort of heat and with the crowds screaming and shouting but the players have done everything I have asked of them," said Lloyd.

"The umpiring and line calling has been much better than we might have expected, and all I can say is that my team have done a fantastic job."

In a slightly less dramatic fillip for British tennis, Hampshire's Nick Weal pushed his world ranking to a

career-high in the 450s yesterday when he reached the final of the ATP Challenger event at Bristol after coming through as a qualifier.

Weal was eventually beaten 6-4, 6-3 by the Australian 30-year-old Ben Ellwood, ranked No. 3 in the world as a junior, but was happy at the way he earned his biggest cheque, £2,735. "This has been a dream week," said Weal. "I ran out of steam a bit today but I will carry the experience with me for a while."

Equestrianism

Whitaker building up a head of steam for Atlanta

John Kerr at Hickstead

JOHN WHITAKER enjoyed the best possible send-off for the Olympics yesterday, winning the West Sussex Holidays Classic on Grannusch at the Royal International Horse Show.

In a seven-horse jump-off the Yorkshireman and his 17-year-old, who have won at their past five international shows, managed the fastest of three clear rounds.

Last year's winners William Funnell and Comex looked like running them close until a stop in the double, three fences from home, ruled them out.


Martin Lucas and Senator Lannegan were second, 2.57 seconds behind, while Damien Charles on Shurlands Viking finished third.

On Saturday Nick Skelton, who like Whitaker leaves for Atlanta on Wednesday, had a similar valedictory when winning the King's Cup. Skel-

ton, conspicuously absent from Hickstead for most of the past two seasons, took the trophy for a third time with the 10-year-old mare Cathleen III.

Lucas and Senator Lannegan also jumped two clear rounds but a fractional time-penalty left them second.

Marion Hughes and Flo Jo took the Queen's Cup back to Ireland for the second straight year. Veronique Whitaker was second on her Belgian import Eldorado.



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